

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

DATE: July 19, 1956

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

PERSONAL ATTENTIONSUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated June 27, 1956, captioned as above.

Beginning with October 10, 1955, the Bureau brought to the attention of your office and the rest of the field the trend of the Communist Party (CP) to move toward more open activities. It was noted that because of extreme security measures practiced by the CP in the past, few offices were aware of the identities of current functionaries on all the various levels of the Party organization. Stress was placed on the necessity of obtaining their identities and all offices were requested to submit steps being taken to carry out this program.

Your letter of November 9, 1955, captioned "Communist Party, USA - Organization, Internal Security - C," set forth plans to be adopted in order to establish the identity of all CP members in your area. At that time membership in the CP within your territory was approximately 10,626 (as of December 31, 1955). Your plans reflected an intention to generally cover key Party functionaries in order to identify a considerable number of Party organizational units thereby enabling your office to better relate the investigation of an individual to the Party structure and to his Party associates to the end that as many members as possible would be subjected to a security investigation.

Subsequently on December 9, 1955, by letter captioned "Communist Party, USA - Membership, Internal Security - C," the Bureau requested all offices to set forth the extent of success in establishing the identity of all CP members and securing complete and accurate membership figures. Instructions were

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4 Photostats (for inspection)  
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also issued that those offices not successful in acquiring the requested data were to submit any revisions or redirection of formerly adopted plans to eventually obtain this information.

Your reply of January 12, 1956, stated that identification of all CP members in the area covered by the New York Office had not been effected; however, your extensive knowledge of membership figures for the New York area as well as the entire country was noted. You also indicated that the previous plans set out in referenced letter of November 9, 1955, provided the most logical source for securing membership figures and identification of CP members in the New York area. Subsequent letters submitted by your office in conjunction with your intensification program concerning development of security informants reflects a realistic application of the integrated investigative system to security investigations.

It would appear from the administrative report of June 30, 1956, that your office is holding strongly against any increase in delinquency of subversive-type investigations. Since the beginning of the year your delinquency in 65, 100, and 105 classifications has fluctuated between 11 per cent and 15 per cent. As of June 30, 1956, it was 11.4 per cent. These figures, while of noteworthy significance, do not reflect the actual lag and ineffectiveness of your present program to identify members of the CP.

It is also evident that unless a specific goal is set this situation could continue for an unreasonable length of time. The Bureau desires, therefore, that you set a goal of 12 months beginning September 1, 1956, in which to identify all CP members in your territory. In this regard your progress reports submitted in accordance with instructions contained in Bureau letter of June 27, 1956, captioned as above, will be closely followed.

Your approach to this program for the identification of membership must be realistic and the personnel of your office must enter into the spirit of the program wholeheartedly to

Letter to SAC, New York

give it impetus. Any administrative or investigative problems inherent in the implementation of the program should be resolved at the outset on a local level or if necessary presented to the Bureau for consideration. It is obvious that with over half of the communist population of the United States in your territory your coverage of the CP is but a sham when you are able to identify only a small percentage of the members in your division.

Although you have been successful in developing the total number of members, you have not, since last October when the membership program was initiated, identified any substantial number of the membership represented by the individuals, thus giving life to these numbers. The primary lesson we learned from the CP underground program was the need for comprehensive informant coverage on all levels of the CP. In order to give practical application to an informant program you must be able to identify the enemy so that they can be adequately covered. At the same time, each additional Party member identified presents another opportunity for potential informant development.

From the foregoing it is apparent that your present membership program will require drastic revisions in order to comply with Bureau instructions. In this regard, you should advise the Bureau by August 5, 1956, of the plans to be effected by your office to realistically comply with this accelerated membership program and at the same time set forth the approximate number of CP members that will have to be identified. Your approach to this problem must be positive and your plans must reflect a clarity of purpose and a direct and aggressive attack against this untenable condition. You must personally lend your enthusiasm and leadership to this project to insure its success. The effective implementation of this program will result in fulfillment of the Bureau's responsibilities in safeguarding the internal security of the country and at the same time realize a more uniform administration for future operations.

Being handled  
by Sec. 12  
JGM

DATE 08-23-2011

Report Form  
FD-72 (5-12-55)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>7/20/56</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>4/1/56 - 7/17/56</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>COMMUNIST PARTY, USA</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>JOSEPH V. WATERS</b>	COMPILED BY <b>JEM</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>	

## SYNOPSIS:

QUARTERLY PERIODApril 1, 1956, to June 30, 1956

Referral/Consult

Meeting of National Board held 6/7, 8/56, and chief subject of discussion was attitude of CP, USA, toward USSR and consideration of statement of report of NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV to 20th Congress of CPSU on STALIN. National Committee met 6/22 to 24/56, and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., reported on some aspects of Negro question. Main report on organization of New York District given by LEON NELSON. Statement for release to press on KHRUSHCHEV report was agreed upon.

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW <i>[Signature]</i>	
COPIES MADE:	7-Bureau (100-3) (RM) 1-G-2, 1st Army (RM) 1-ONI, 3rd ND, NYC (RM) 1-OSI, 2nd OSI District, USAF (RM) 1-All Offices (RM) 4-New York (100-4931)	100-80638-1102	



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"Daily Worker" ("DW") of 5/24/56, reported CP had contracted for space in "The Worker" and in "Political Affairs" for "Party Discussion" then underway, and printed statement of National Discussion Committee to effect that convention is to be held about December, 1956; Discussion was said to have as its purpose overcoming isolation of Party and strengthening mass work. CP on 5/31/56, sought reopening of proceedings before SACB, claiming developments since order of 4/20/53, to register under Mc Carran Act had refuted findings of that body. On 4/17/56, informant furnished circular of National Organizational Commission advising that as of January 1, 1956, the national office would return improperly prepared transfers of members, districts being instructed to prepare own systems and setting out clear political characterization of activity of transferee, and clear explanation of means of recognition, responsibility of resolving any doubts to be on district of origin. Income of CP for first quarter of 1956 disclosed as \$32,448.06. with expenditures of \$30,825.09. [redacted] Referral/Consult

[redacted] National Board at 4/8,9/56 meeting, decided that security measures must be kept in mind at all times and generally tightened

up: IRVING HERMAN, Head of National Review Commission, has prepared memo "Combating the Informer Evil," which has been sent to all district organizers with view to promoting mass struggle for Bill of Rights and constitutional liberties and need for vigilance against planting of informers in CP ranks: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, National Chairman, reported on 4/28/56, to have mentioned that worst error of National Board was putting Party underground, thereby costing Party 1/3 of membership as determined by a recent registration: OTTO KUUSINEN, member, Central Committee, CPSU, reported to have declared to group of Western delegates to 20th Congress, CPSU, that KHRUSHCHEV had stated that in countries where capitalism is strong, transition to Socialism would cause class conflict and that that description fitted US. KUUSINEN welcomed efforts of CP, USA, to gain legality but warned against putting everyone into public activity. Informant describes situation in CP today as worse than that prevailing during EARL BROWDER crisis, with leadership from top to bottom under attack. Fight for power said to be in progress between advocates of united front tactics and peaceful transition to Socialism, as opposed to left sectarian group. Same informant states opinion of Party leaders is that EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary, has been weak in current crisis and his hesitation caused harm and chaos. National Board meeting of 6/7,8/56, considered statement to be made on KHRUSHCHEV report on STALIN, to be released in name of Board or in name of DENNIS. A statement by DENNIS appeared in "DW" on 6/18/56, noting questions concerning responsibility of Soviet leadership for evils admitted, "Pravda" in Moscow reprinting version of his statement. National Committee meeting of

6/22-24/56, adopted statement for release to press on KHRUSHCHEV report on STALIN, stating crimes committed under STALIN's leadership were alien to Socialism and admitting shock at their revelation, that CPSU leadership must determine why such perversions continued for twenty years, that CP, USA, was disturbed by revelation of action against Jewish cultural organs and execution of Jewish leaders, explanation by Soviet leaders being required. Admission made that CP, USA, justified many policies of USSR now shown as wrong. "DW" of 4/19/56, in editorial on dissolution of Cominform, stated that that re-affirms "old truth" that working people will take their own path to Socialism -- "a common blueprint for Socialism was always alien to Marxism. "DW" of 4/19/56, in editorial claimed as good news for friends of Israel and Arab the proposal of the USSR for prevention of war through machinery of UN, a proposal said to be more realistic than 1950 declaration of Western powers. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Illinois-Indiana CP District Organizer, reporting to National Committee on 4/30/56, on "Review of Electoral Policies and Tasks for 1956" noted issues of 1956 election as struggle of Negro people, agricultural crisis, economic problems of workers, demand for cleaning out Mc Carthyism and restoring freedom of thought and opinion and changes in international scene posing necessity for basic changes in American foreign policy. At same meeting ALBERT E. BLUMBERG, National Legislative Director, urged that Democratic Party be subjected to pressure in effort to have civil rights legislation sent to House and also necessity of raising question of tax cut by \$1,000 exemption for dependents and reducing military expenditures. Meeting of National Civil Liberties Commission

held week of 5/14/56, it being stated there CP was working on legislation to be introduced to repeal Smith Act. "DW" from April to June, 1956, printed articles urging banning of H Bomb tests as "tremendous step toward real disarmament." "DW" of 5/18,24,25/56, criticized attempts to exclude from Social Security benefits present and former CP employees and their dependents. The National Trade Union Commission met on 6/6/56, and concluded there are possibilities for CP work in merged organization of AFL-CIO, and CP should take advantage of differences within it to advance cause of left. At this meeting, [redacted] Organizer, reported little CP influence in United Steel Workers of America. At CP meeting held 4/2/56, [redacted]

[redacted] said CP policy regarding United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) favors merger agreements with Independent Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (IUE) on district or local basis, as opposed to fragmentation of UE. "DW" of 4/30/56, reported receipt by wife of [redacted] convicted under Smith Act, of letters from persons in Europe and Asia protesting cancellation of his veteran's disability pension by Veterans Administration. Bulletin of National Organization Department and National Negro Commission announced conference on South to be held at Jefferson School of Social Science on 6/30/56, stating conference was preparation for book by Marxist authors, to arm progressive movement with theoretical understanding of Soviet as primary political question, to help influence democratic movement there and to develop relations with non-Marxists who have interest in the Southern question. EUGENE DENNIS in receipt of letter dated 4/23/56, suggesting that at least one US representative serve on preparatory committee for Youth Festival to be held in Europe in 1957. "The Worker" of 7/1/56, reported holding of First

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World Conference of Women Workers on 6/14/56, at Budapest, at which opening report stated that women in capitalist countries find it difficult to get higher technical qualifications or to use them if gotten. Meeting on farm matters held at CP national office on 5/2/56, and agreement reached that Midwest is main area for Party work on farm matters and Midwest farm commission should be organized. [redacted]

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[redacted] "DW" columnist, on 4/17/56, expressed approval of Fine Arts Bill pending in Congress, on which hearings were being held in New York City. PAUL NOVICK, Editor of "Morning Freiheit," at meeting with DENNIS and Jewish Communist leaders, charged that pogrom of Jewish culture and execution of Jewish writers was done by counter-revolutionary forces aiming at destruction of USSR. Informant advised that a new orientation of left among national groups is decisive factor in defeating reaction and suggestion has been made that each national group confer, following which there be district-wide conferences with representatives of each group to set line and convince the groups CP is giving attention to such work. A national conference under leadership of National Committee would then be called to serve as guide for entire Party. Reports of EUGENE DENNIS, MAX WEISS and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT to National Committee meeting of 4/28 to 5/1/56, described as basic discussion material for immediate period, with districts expected to distribute them beyond CP to labor, electoral, liberal, civil rights and Negro groups, among others. Publication date of approximately 5/15/56, announced by CP for "The Enemy Forgotten" by GIL GREEN, National Committee member imprisoned for violation of the Smith Act. "Discussion Outline for Clubs," prepared on 20th Congress of CPSU, claiming significance for Congress in

registering change in relationship between Socialist system and capitalist system, charting transition from Socialism to Communism, opening a fight against dogmatism and doctrinairism with revaluation of role of STALIN, and opening a new era of Soviet democracy; Consideration being given to change of name of Jefferson School of Social Science as well as change to broader program with greater appeal to progressives. "The Worker" of 5/6/56, published letter of that school's officials, asserting what must be learned is combining Marxism with what is unique in American experience. Admission made that serious questioning of teaching there has been discouraged and those with differing views should find platform and reading of their works in School;

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All informants in this report have furnished reliable information in the past or were in a position to furnish reliable information.

This is a joint report of pertinent activities of the Communist Party, USA, during the quarterly period April 1, 1956, to June 30, 1956, prepared by the following Special Agents:

GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

[REDACTED]

ROBERT J. KIRKLAND, JR.

JOHN F. LANGTRY

JOSEPH P. MC CORMICK

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALPHONSE J. SUTKUS

JOSEPH V. WATERS

[REDACTED]

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I. IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS

The individuals mentioned in this report are listed below and may be identified as follows:

JOHN JACOB ABT

On March 22, 1954, [REDACTED] Northampton, Massachusetts, in describing her past Communist activities in Washington, D. C. during the 1930's, identified JOHN ABT as an individual known to her as a Communist Party (CP) member during that time.

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The "Daily Worker" issue of April 6, 1954, page three, column two, made mention of a forthcoming dinner in honor of the 50th birthday of JOHN ABT. This "Daily Worker" article stated, in part, that "ABT, noted civil liberties attorney, has been in the forefront of the progressive fight for over 20 years...He is co-counsel representing the CP in the Mc Carran Act case."

WILLIAM ALBERTSON

ALBERTSON was convicted on August 20, 1953, in United States District Court, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

JAMES S. ALLEN

The "Worker" of December 11, 1955, page five, column two, identified JAMES S. ALLEN as an editor at International Publishers.

HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER testified on July 14, 1954, in the case of United States versus KUZMA, ET AL; CONSPIRACY to violate the Smith Act, which took place in the United States District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania. APTHEKER testified that he was at that time a member of the CP and had been a member since 1939.

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MARION BACHRACH

MARION BACHRACH was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury, Southern District of New York, on June 20, 1951, on charges of conspiring to violate the Smith Act of 1940. On June 18, 1956, she was acquitted by the Court.

[REDACTED]

T-40, advised in February, 1956, that [REDACTED] has been assigned to the New Jersey District of the CP as [REDACTED] although at that time he was still working on some trade union matters.

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PHIL BART

T-19 on March 11, 1956, advised that PHIL BART was a member of the CP National Organization Commission.

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN was convicted for violation of the Smith Act on January 21, 1953, in the Southern District of New York. He is currently serving his sentence.

ALBERT E. BLUMBERG

The "Daily Worker" of November 23, 1955, page three, column two, identified BLUMBERG as National Legislative Director of the CP.

BLUMBERG was convicted on March 7, 1956, in United States District Court, Philadelphia for violation of the Smith Act, in that he was a member of the CP, knowing that it taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence.

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EARL BROWDER

The "New York Times" of May 20, 1956, page 40, column 1, describes BROWDER as becoming Secretary of the American Communist Party (CP) in 1930, and General Secretary in 1934. He was ousted as Chairman of the Communist Political Association in 1945, and was expelled by the reconstituted party in February, 1946.

LOUIS E. BURNHAM

T-4 advised on January 10, 1956, that LOUIS BURNHAM is a member of the Steering Committee of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

T-35 has advised on March 24, 1956, that on March 23, 1956, GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY was introduced at a meeting held at the Yugoslav American Cooperative Home, Incorporated, New York City, as State Chairman of the New York CP.

An indictment was returned by the Federal Grand Jury at New York, New York on June 20, 1951, charging CHARNEY with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He is currently being tried.

MORRIS CHILDS

T-19 advised on February 28, 1956, that MORRIS CHILDS is a member of the Illinois - Indiana CP District Board.

CHARLES COE

T-8 advised in March, 1956, that CHARLES COE is a member of the Eastern Regional Farm Commission of the CP, USA.

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JOE CLARK

T-2 advised on September 30, 1955, that JOE CLARK was then the Foreign Editor of the "Daily Worker."

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, Southern District of New York of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, stated that DAVIS was elected to the National Committee of the CP at its convention in December, 1950.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker" of February 29, 1956, described EUGENE DENNIS as General Secretary of the CP.

EUGENE DENNIS was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

[REDACTED]

The "Daily Worker" of November 7, 1955, page six, column one, contains an article entitled, "LYL Chooses Two New Vice-Chairmen." The article reflected that [REDACTED] according to a Labor Youth League announcement on November 6, 1955, had been elected as a new [REDACTED]

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HOWARD FAST

On October 18, 1950, JOHN LAUTNER, former Chairman of the Review Commission of the New York State CP, advised that HOWARD FAST was a member of the National Cultural Commission, CP, USA in 1947.

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JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

GATES was identified as Editor-in-Chief of the "Daily Worker" in the issue of March 23, 1956.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, stated that GATES was elected to the National Committee of the CP at its convention in December, 1950.

SIMON W. GERSON

"The Worker" of March 4, 1956, described GERSON as Legislative Chairman of the New York State CP.

T-40 has advised on April 30, 1956, that SIMON W. GERSON is Chairman of the National Defense Committee of the CP.

DAVID GOLDWAY

In March, 1956, T-9 furnished a copy of the spring, 1956 catalog of the Jefferson School of Social Science. This catalog lists DAVID GOLDWAY as Executive Secretary of this school.

GILBERT "GIL" GREEN

GILBERT GREEN was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He failed to surrender to serve his sentence in 1951, and was a fugitive until February 27, 1956, when he surrendered. He is currently serving that sentence, and is to serve a sentence of three additional years for contempt in his failure to surrender in 1951.

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The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, stated that GREEN was elected to the National Committee of the CP at its convention in December, 1950.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] T-48 has advised on November 16, 1955, that [REDACTED] had recently been put in charge of "March of Labor."

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FLORENCE HALL

On May 24, 1956, T-19 identified FLORENCE HALL as a member of the Administrative Staff of the Illinois - Indiana CP District.

GUS HALL

GUS HALL was convicted on October 14, 1949, in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He failed to surrender to serve his sentence in 1951, and remained a fugitive until he was apprehended by the FBI in October, 1951. He is currently serving that sentence, and is to serve a sentence of three additional years for contempt in his failure to surrender in July, 1951.

The "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1951, stated that HALL was elected to the National Committee of the CP at its convention in December, 1950.

ROB HALL

T-2 advised on September 30, 1955, that ROB HALL was then Sunday Editor of "The Worker."

DOROTHY HEALEY

The "Daily Peoples World" of December 19, 1955, described DOROTHY HEALEY as "Los Angeles County Chairman, Communist Party."

DOROTHY HEALEY, with others, was convicted on August 5, 1952, in United States District Court, Los Angeles, California, for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

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[redacted]  
T-19 advised on May 24, 1956, that [redacted] was a member of the Administrative Staff of the Illinois- Indiana CP District.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

T-4 has advised on December 8, 1955, that LIGHTFOOT was then District Organizer of the Illinois-Indiana CP District.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was convicted in the United States District Court, Chicago, Illinois, on January 26, 1955, of violation of the Smith Act in that he was a member of the CP, knowing the CP taught and advocated the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence.

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[redacted]  
T-4 has advised on October 28, 1955, that [redacted] was then the National Youth Director of the CP.

HYMAN LUMER

T-16 advised in September, 1955, that LUMER described himself as the Coordinator of the CP out of Cleveland, Ohio.

[redacted]  
T-4 advised on February 9, 1956, that he had recently learned from a CP functionary that the national leadership of the CP had decided to remove [redacted] from his assignment as [redacted] of the National Peace Commission of the CP and return him to the staff of the "Daily Worker."

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GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

The following organizations and publications mentioned in this report may be characterized as follows:

American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Chicago Joint Defense Committee to Defeat the Smith Act

T-4 advised in March, 1956, that the Chicago Joint Defense Committee to Defeat the Smith Act was formed for the defense of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, MAX WEISS, FRED FINE, and GIL GREEN.

"China Daily News" ("CDN")

On June 15, 1954, the "CDN" and [redacted] its [redacted] were convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act in connection with the paper's printing of advertisements for Chinese Communist banks, which sought to induce Chinese in the United States to send money to Communist China.

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b7cCivil Rights Congress

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Daily Peoples World"

The "Daily Peoples World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

"Daily Worker"

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.



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"Economic Notes"

"Among publications which the committee found to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system," California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 224.

Emergency Committee For a Free Press

T-2, on April 6, 1956, advised that HOWARD FAST, on March 28, 1956, organized the Emergency Committee for a Free Press to assist the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" over their financial crisis, subsequent to the seizure of their assets by the Internal Revenue Service.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

The "Daily Worker" an East Coast Communist daily newspaper issue of October 8, 1951, page one, columns four and five, in an article entitled, "150 Notables Form Emergency Civil Rights Committee," reflected that the formation of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had been announced on October 7, 1951. It was shown that the purpose of the organization would be to help mobilize public opinion in support of the traditional American Constitutional guarantees of civil liberties and to render aid to victims of abridgement of these liberties in politics, education and the professions. The founders, according to the article, included more than fifty members of the clergy and many educators and professionals.

T-46 on October 21, 1955, furnished information reflecting that the Communist Party felt that help should be extended in building a "united front civil liberties organization" in the United States, which while not led by the "left", would contain labor, liberal and "left forces" within it in a commonly agreed program, including defense of the rights of the Communists.

The information further indicated that the Communist Party felt that this aim can best be achieved by helping the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to become a national organization with local chapters operating on the basis of its program.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is located at 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, New York.

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"Facts for Farmers"

"Among those publications which the committee found 'to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system.'" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, page 224).

"Greek American Tribune"

T-24 on April 17, 1956, described the "Greek American Tribune" as a Greek Communist newspaper published weekly in New York City.

International Publishers

"1. 'The (Communist) Party's publishing house', headed by Alexander Trachtenberg.

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.)

"2. 'Publishing agency of the Communist Party.'

(Brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 145.)

"3. 'An 'official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States,' and a medium through which 'extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports. January 3, 1940, p. 8, and June 25, 1942, p. 18; also cited in Report, March 29, 1944, p. 76.)

"4. 'Offical American Communist Party publishing house.'

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 80.)

"5. An 'important publishing organization of the Communist Party' located at 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, and headed by Alexander Trachtenberg. 'These organizations \* \* \* are among the most important institutions in the Red Fascist network. None but tested Communists and fellow travelers are permitted to participate in the management and direction of such enterprises.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 35 and 214.)

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"6. One of the two chief publishers of the Communist Party and controlled by the Communists.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 289.)"

International Workers Order

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Jefferson School of Social Science

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Jewish Life"

"1. 'Among typical examples of the Communist press and publications.' Published by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 49 and 225.)

"2. A Communist International publication distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass.

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281.)"

Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Jewish Progressive Schools

T-7 advised on April 30, 1956, that the Jewish Progressive Schools is the former school system of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, International Workers Order.

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"March of Labor"

On January 22, 1953, T-2 advised that JOHN STEUBEN, Editor of the publication "March of Labor" has been active in trade union work for the Communist Party, USA for many years.

"Latin American Facts"

"Latin American Facts" (LAF), volume one, number 1, dated November, 1950, states that it is published monthly by the Latin American Research Bureau (LARB), 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York, Room 636.

T-43 advised February 2, 1951, that the announced purpose of the LAF was to present factual, economic, cultural, social and political data about Latin America and about United States - Latin American relations.

Beginning with its March, 1953, issue, the LARB announced a change in the name of its publication from LAF to "Latin America Today" (LAT).

The March, 1956, issue of LAT identifies [redacted] as its [redacted]

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"Masses and Mainstream"

"1. Cited as the successor to New Masses, 'a Communist magazine.'

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities House Report No. 1953, on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950 (originally released October 23, 1949), p.75.)

"2. 'Among typical examples of the Communist Press and publications.'

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948, p. 49.)"

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"Middle Shule"

T-7 identified to the 'Middle Shule' on April 30, 1956, as a section of the Jewish Progressive Schools.

"Morning Freiheit"

The "Daily Worker" for December 9, 1946, page 7, column 1, editorially referred to the "Morning Freiheit" as the Jewish language Communist newspaper.

New Century Publishers

"1. 'An official Communist Party publishing house, which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively, as well as the theoretical magazine of the party known as Political Affairs and the Constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A.' (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 7 and 35.)

"2. 'The largest of the Communist publishing firms. It is located at 832 Broadway, New York City. It was incorporated December 8, 1944, with a capital stock of \$20,000.' (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 214.)"

"New Challenge"

Considered by LYL members to be the official monthly publication of the Labor Youth League, according to T-3.

Labor Youth League

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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"New World Review"

The name of "Soviet Russia Today" was changed to "New World Review" in March, 1951.

"Soviet Russia Today"

"1.. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 167; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 21.)

"2. Cited as a 'Communist-front publication.'  
(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities House Report No. 1953, on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950 (originally released October 23, 1949), p.108.)

"3. Among the 'more important' Communist-front organizations 'for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 169.)

"4. A magazine published by Friends of the Soviet Union and distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. 'The articles and pictures in this magazine seek to show the great benefits and advantages enjoyed by Russian workers, stressing the theme that Russia is the only successful nation in the world today.'  
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 281 and 517.)"

"Political Affairs"

"1. Cited as an 'official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ.' 'Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist, 'a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism published monthly by the Communist Party of the United States of America,' now calls itself 'a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.' Its chief editor is Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the party.'  
(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 5 and 36; also cited in Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 25.)

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"Political Affairs"-(Continued)

"2. New name for the monthly ideological publication of the Communist Party, The Communist.  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 252.)"

Prompt Press

"1. 'Prints the bulk of the literature issued by the Communist Party and its affiliates and is reliably known to be owned by the Communist Party.' Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685.

"2. 'Communist printing organization.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 196)"

Service Bureau of Jewish Education, also known as:  
Service Bureau for Jewish Education, Jewish  
Educational Service, Committee for Progressive  
Jewish Education

T-27 advised on June 14, 1955, that officials of the Department of Insurance, State of New York, had recently served a demand upon the Committee for Progressive Jewish Education that it, the Committee, surrender itself to the Department of Insurance as an asset of the International Workers Order. The demand was based upon the State's claim that the Committee for Progressive Jewish Education was merely an extension of the National and Cultural Committee of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO), International Workers Order.

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers  
of America (UE)

The "Directory of the National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1955" published by the United States Department of Labor, lists on page four the unions expelled by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) on charges that they were Communist dominated. The UE was listed among those unions expelled on November 2, 1949.

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"The Worker"

"The Worker" is the Sunday edition of the "Daily Worker."

World Federation of Trade Unions

The World Federation of Trade Unions has been characterized as "Communist dominated and part of the Communist International solar system" by the California Committee on Un-American activities, 1949 report, pp. 472 and 563.

Yiddisher Kultur Farband (IKUF)

Designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Young Communist League

The Young Communist League has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



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MEMBERSHIP

(Bufile 100-3-68)  
(NYfile 100-80638)

This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V. WATERS.

On April 17, 1956, T-45 reported that under date of December 1, 1955, the National Organizational Commission circularized all Party districts on the subject of transfers of Party members.

This communication asserted:

"Present slipshod practices in handling transfers continue to create security problems and unnecessary delays in contact and transfers."

It was said that transfers received are frequently illegibly written on odd pieces of paper and contain inadequate information as to standing, characterization and the method of contacting the transferee. It was said that apparently the transfers originating in clubs and sections are merely transmitted by districts without stating any information as to its adequacy or political approval by the higher organization. It was said that the national office had been put in the position of having to decide whether to send through inadequate material in order to avoid extreme delays.

The communication asserted that beginning January 1, 1956, the national office would return improperly prepared transfers and the originating district would thereupon be charged with responsibility for any further delay. Districts were instructed to prepare their own uniform systems until a national transfer system was evolved. The instruction was given that transfers be prepared on a half sheet of paper, preferably typed, and containing the following information:

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1. Name and address of person or persons to be transferred;
2. Dues standing;
3. A clear political characterization of activity and role, level of development, length of time in the Party, recommendation for assignment, etc.;
4. A clear explanation as to how the person making the contact is to be recognized.

Lastly it was stated that many members had been lost because of inadequate handling of the information called for in three and four and frequently questions are raised about the person being transferred without any recommendation from the district of origin. The burden of resolving doubts was placed on the district of origin and that district would be held accountable for transfers originating in it.

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INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
T-1 [redacted]	"Toward a Marxist Library"	3/12/56	SA ELLSWORTH GUSTAFSON & [redacted]
T-2 [redacted]	DW seizure Gates editorials	4/6/56 6/28/56	SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT
"	DOCUMENTATION OF JOE CLARK, JOSEPH NORTH ROB HALL, "MARCH OF LABOR",		
"	Emergency com- mittee for a Free Press and [redacted]		
T-3 [redacted]	DOCUMENTATION OF "NEW CHALLENGE"		
T-4 CG 5824-S*	Number of com- missions being established	5/14/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
"	"Letter to All Districts" dated 5/4/56	5/14/56	"
"	"Letter to All Districts" dated 5/14/56	5/18/56	"

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-4 (Cont'd) CG 5824-S*	Pamphlet prices	5/25/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
"	"Facts for Farmers"	5/3/56	"
"	"Literature" - Spring, 1956 issue	4/23/56	"
"	GIL GREEN'S, "The Enemy Forgotten"	4/23/56	"
"	Communists should apply for pass- ports before 7/1/56	4/26/56	"
"	H. POLLITT'S re- port on STALIN as read at CP National Committee meeting, 4/29/56	4/30/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATIONS OF WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] JAMES TORNEY ISADORE WOFSY DOXEY A. WILKERSON		

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
T-4 (Cont'd) CG 5824-S*	DOCUMENTATIONS OF LOUIS E. BURNHAM CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT ABRAHAM B. MAGIL		
T-5 PH 83-S*	"District Bulletin"	5/22/56	
"	Departure of IRVING HERMAN from national office of CP	5/31/56	
T-6 [redacted]	Mimeographed Instructions	6/6/56	[redacted]
T-7 [redacted]	"MOISSE KATZ" book	4/3/56	[redacted]
"	Literature Con- ference, 4/14/56	5/16/56	"
"	Bronx Committee of Jewish Societies	4/23/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATION OF JEWISH PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS, MIDDLE SHULE. PAUL NOVICK, WILLIAM L. PATTER- SON, [redacted]		

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-7 (Cont'd) [redacted]	"Middle Shule" meeting	4/30/56	[redacted]
"	Meeting of Jewish Leaders, 4/25/56	4/30/56	"
"	Yiddisher Kultur Ferband, . . .	5/7/56	"
"	4/25/56	4/30/56	"

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T-8 [redacted]	DOCUMENTATIONS - CHARLES COE [redacted]		
"	Meeting of Eastern Regional CP Farm Commission on 5/20/56	5/21/56	SA BRYON JINNETT & RICHARD H. BLASSER

T-9 NY 1743-S*	Repossession of CP office on 4/3/56	4/27/56	
"	Catalogue of JSSS used to document DAVID GOLDWAY	3/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-9 (Cont'd) NY 1743-S*	"Inform or Else"	4/27/56	
"	Memorandum on in- creasing prices of "Political Affairs"	5/16/56	
"	GIL GREEN "St." "The Enemy Forgotten"	5/16/56	
"	Memo re "New Challenge" from National Youth Commission	4/27/56	
"	Memo re National Group Work	4/27/56	
"	Struggle for Negro Rights	5/16/56	
"	Theoretical Aspects on the Negro Question	5/16/56	
"	Classes among the Negro People	5/16/56	
"	Conference on Negro Question	5/16/56	
"	CP Bulletin dated 3/20/56	5/16/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-9 (Cont'd) NY 1743-S*	Greetings to CP of India, 4/10/56	6/15/56	
"	Greetings to CP of Trieste, 4/19/56	6/15/56	
"	Greetings to CP of Albania, 5/12/56	6/15/56	
"	Greetings to CP of Tunisia, 5/18/56	6/15/56	
"	Letter of WILLIAM- SON to DENNIS	5/16/56	
"	Comment of GREEN re KHRUSHCHEV report	6/28/56	
"	Comments of SCHNEIDERMAN re: release of KHRUSHCHEV report	6/6/56	
"	CP national office financial data	6/15/56 & 6/28/56	
"	5/8/56 letter of PHIL BART re: his assignment	5/16/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-9 (Cont'd) NY 1743-S*	Announcement of 6/22,23/56 meeting of National Committee	6/15/56	
"	Repossession of CP office. on 4/3/56	4/27/56	
"	3/17/56 letter of [redacted] re: Mother Bloor Mem- orial	4/27/56	
T-10 CS SF 2140-S*	"Letters from Prison"	4/5/56	
T-11 NY 1767-S*	"Literature Apparatus" in Southern Region	4/23/56	
"	Code names still used in SRC	4/23/56	
"	South-wide conference on de- segregation	4/23/56	
T-12 NY 1727-S*	May Day leaflets	4/18/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-12 (Cont'd) NY 1727-S*	JAMES TORMEY working with SIMON GERSON at latter's office	5/11/56	
T-13 [redacted]	Report of Central Committee of CPSU	4/24/56	[redacted]
T-14 CSBA 1066-S*	[redacted] letter	5/29/56	
"	Conference on the South	6/4/56 & 6/13/56	
T-15 LOUIS BUDENZ (By Request)	DOCUMENTATION OF PAUL ROBESON AND [redacted]		
T-16 CL 138-S	DOCUMENTATION OF HYMAN LUMER		
T-17 NY 1166-S*	DOCUMENTATION OF [redacted]		
T-18 [redacted]	DOCUMENTATION OF [redacted]		

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-19 CG 5324-S*	National Policy re: Security Measures	4/10/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
"	Efforts to detect Informers	6/6/56	"
"	Financial problem resulting from Security Measures	5/3/56	"
"	CP Policy re: Underground	4/2, 10; 5/17/56	"
"	Info re: estab- lishment of under- ground in 1951	5/31/56	ASAC JOSEPH L. SCHMIT; SAS CARL N. FREYMAN & JOHN E. KEATING
"	Letter to EUGENE DENNIS re: Youth Festival	5/17/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	Meeting of Dist. Secretariat of Minnesota CP District	4/16/56	"

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-19 (Cont'd) CG 5824-S*	Meeting re: Farm Matters in National office of CP on 5/2/56	5/3/56	SA JOHN E. KEATING
"	Review of Electoral Policies and Tasks "for 1956"	5/22/56	"
"	Proposed meeting of National Committee on 4/28 to 5/1/56	4/23/56	"
"	Meeting of repre- sentatives of Mid- west CP Districts, May 27, 1956	5/28/56	"
"	Meeting of National Committee on 5/1/56	5/1/56	"
"	Meeting of National Civil Liberties Commission of the CP held 5/56	5/22/56	"
"	JOHN GATES criticised	6/13/56	CARL N. FREYMAN
"	Party Policy re: NAACP	5/3/56	JOHN E. KEATING

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-19 (Cont'd) CG 5824-S*	Meeting of National Trade Union Com- mission	6/6/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	[redacted] report at National Trade Union Com- mission Meeting, 6/16/56	6/16/56	"
"	Meeting re: Merger .. of UERMWA and I <del>U</del> ERMWA, 5/2/56	5/3/56	"
"	Meeting on National CP Commission for Auto Industry schedule, 5/24/56	5/14/56	"
"	[redacted], [redacted] & FLORENCE HALL to attend above mtg	5/24/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATION OF [redacted] MORRIS CHEDS, PHIL BART, [redacted] CLARENCE SHAR?, FLORENCE HALL		IRVING HERMAN,
"	KHRUSHCHEV report transmitted to DENNIS, 5/10/56	5/14/56	JOHN E. KEATING

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-19 (Cont'd) CG 5824-S*	Report on CP National Bd. mtg, on 6/7 & 8/56	6/7 & 8/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	Discussion of KHRUSHCHEV report at CP National Bd. Meeting, 6/9/56	6/13/56	CARL N. FREYMAN
"	Info re release of TAYLOR letter to CP of China, 6/7/56	6/8/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	Info re release of TAYLOR letter to CP of China, 6/8/56	6/13/56	"
"	Demand by PHIL BART for hearing re assignment and letter asking hearing	4/30/56 & 5/3/56	"
"	SIMON W. GERSON, Chairman, and JAMES TORMEY, Secretary, CP National Defense Commission	4/30/56	"
"	Meeting of Admin- istrative Staff of Illinois - Indiana District on 4/23/56	4/23/56	"

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-20 [redacted]	Use of pay tele- phones as Security measure	4/7/56	[redacted]
T-21 NY 1694-S*	CP Policy re: Underground	4/28/56	
"	FOSTER'S comments re: Underground Operations	4/30/56	
"	Self-determination issue	4/28/56	
T-22 [redacted]	General info re: Chinese Communist Organization and CP, USA	11/1/55	[redacted]
"	CP line and Chinese Communists	4/4/56	"
T-23 [redacted]	Deportation of [redacted]	6/12/56	[redacted]
N. Y. (By Request)			

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
T-24 [redacted]	DOCUMENTATION OF "GREEK AMERICAN TRIBUNE"		
T-25 [redacted]	Circulation of "Greek American Tribune"	6/20/56	[redacted]
T-26 NY 694-S*	Jewish Question	5/22/56	[redacted]
"	CP member to discuss trade union problems with Canadian CP secretariat	6/8/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATION OF [redacted]		
"	WILLIAMSON letter to CP, USA, 4/23/56	5/56	"
"	POTASH & WILLIAM- SON delegates to 20th Congress, CPSU	5/15/56	"
"	Information re: [redacted]	5/15/56	"
"	Subsidy of CP'S of Cuba and Puerto Rico	5/22/56	"

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-26 (Cont'd) CSNY 694-S*	Financial leader- ship of CP, USA	4/26/56	[REDACTED]
"	Operation of antique shops	5/22 and 6/12/56	"
"	CP, USA Reserve Fund Activities	6/19 and 6/21/56	"
T-27 [REDACTED]	DOCUMENTATION SERVICE BUREAU OF JEWISH EDUCATION		
T-28 CSNY 335-S	Resolution re United Fund Cam- paign	2/2/56	[REDACTED]
"	Fact sheet	4/12/56	[REDACTED]
T-29 [REDACTED]	DOCUMENTATION OF STEVE NELSON		
T-30 [REDACTED]	Info re gomin- form - TITO factions normalizing relations conversation with [REDACTED] STEVE NELSON	4/23/56 4/26/56	JAMES M. ANDERSON "

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
T-31 [redacted]	EDWARD F. STRONG, Chairman, National Negro Commission	4/23/56	[redacted]
T-32 NY 1750-S*	5/2/56	5/2/56	
"	PHIL BART'S remarks re: Labor Movement	4/28/56	
"	Comments of PHIL BART re release of KHRUSHCHEV report	6/5/56	
"	Comments of PHIL BART re: Party Assignments	5/31/56	
"	Discussion by PHIL BART re: criticism of National Adminis- trative Committee at meeting at 4/26/56	4/26/56	
T-33 [redacted]	CLARENCE SHARP'S tour of Minnesota in May, 1956	5/28/56	[redacted]
T-34 NY 1637-S*	"Discussion Outline for Clubs"	4/26/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-35 [redacted]	Info re: change in name of JSSS	5/28/56	DAVID RYAN
"	Draft of "Invitation tion to a Con- ference on the South"	6/1/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATION OF GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, DOXEY A. WILKERSON		
T-36 [redacted]	Proposed school for CP members in steel industry	3/12/56	Indianapolis Office
T-37 [redacted]	Discussion re establishment of National CP Rail- road Commission	5/24/56	THURL STALNAKER
T-38 [redacted]	Letter on JSSS letterhead indicating HOWARD SELSAM is director of school	6/20/56	
T-39 NY 1697-S*	Issue between EARL BROWDER & WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	5/6/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-39 NY 1697-S*	DENNIS running CP	5/9/56	
"	Comment of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER on contribution in "Daily Worker"	5/20/56	
T-40 CG 5824-S*	Attendance of POTASH and WILLIAMSON at 20th Congress, CPSU, and related info.	5/7/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	Comments re: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> remarks as read a CP National Committee meeting, 4/29/56	4/29/56	"
"	CP National office funds collections	5/29/56	"
"	Meeting of Admin- istrative Committee of CP National Committee on 6/26/56	6/28/56	"
"	Announcement of Conference on the South	6/6/56	

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>
T-40 CG 5824-S*	Trend toward re- duction of number of full-time party employees	5/31/56	ASAC JOSEPH L. SCHMIT, Chicago and
"	CP in severe crisis and fight for power as be- tween EUGENE DENNIS & WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	5/31/56	SAS CARL N. FREYMAN & JOHN E. KEATING
"	EUGENE DENNIS very weak in current crisis in CP; National Committee might not have approved statement on 20th Congress of CPSU if WILLIAM Z. FOSTER present	6/25/56	JOHN E. KEATING
"	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has prepared 45 page summation of argument against EUGENE DENNIS and poll by National office of CP to deter- mine whether to publish it.	7/1/56	"
"	DOCUMENTATIONS OF FRED FINE <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px; margin: 5px auto;"></div>		

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
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T-40 (Cont'd)  
CG 5824-S\*

DOCUMENTATIONS OF

SIMON GERSON  
EDWARD E. STRONG

T-41

Comments of  
DENNIS re release  
of KHRUSHCHEV  
report

6/4/56

T-42  
SF 1425-S\*

National Election  
Congress on 9/15-  
17/56

"

Comments of  
SCHNEIDERMAN re  
release of KHRUSHCHEV  
report

6/4/56

"

Committees preparing  
for convention

7/2/56

T-43  
Former  
CSNY 426

DOCUMENTATION OF "LATIN AMERICANS FACTS"

T-44

CP national  
office financial  
data

5/15/56

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INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished
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T-45

[REDACTED]

Letter of National  
Organizational  
Commission re:  
transfers

4/17/56

T-46

NY 1317-S\*

DOCUMENTATION OF ANTHONY KRCIMAREK,

"

DOCUMENTATION OF [REDACTED] EMERGENCY  
CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

T-47

NY 1474-S\*

DOCUMENTATION OF NED SPARKS

T-48

[REDACTED]

DOCUMENTATION OF [REDACTED]

T-49

[REDACTED]

DOCUMENTATION OF [REDACTED]

T-50

[REDACTED]

DOCUMENTATION OF [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

T-51

Former

[REDACTED]

DOCUMENTATION OF [REDACTED]

Careful consideration has been given  
to each source concealed, and T symbols were utilized  
in the report only in those instances where the  
identities of the sources must be concealed.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-4931

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Three symbols, T-4, T-19, and T-40, were used in references to information furnished by CG 5824-S\* in order to completely conceal the identity of this source.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)



ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report have been designated for all offices, in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA, for the quarterly period July 1, 1956, to September 30, 1956.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 4/25/56, New York

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

SAC, NEW YORK (100- )

July 5, 1956

SAC, CHICAGO (100-83250)

ADELAIDE BEAN  
SECURITY MATTER - C

b6  
b7c

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5524-S\* on June 7, 1956, exhibited to SA JOHN E. KEATING a characterization of [redacted] which was being sent from the National Office of the Communist Party to the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District. This characterization contained the following information. The items on the left hand column were typed and the items on the right hand column were written:

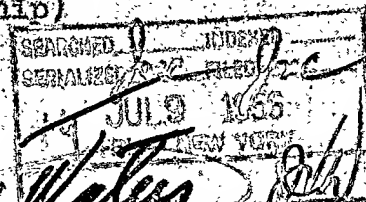
Date	3/19/56
To:	NAME - Cult
Name:	Chicago
Address:	[redacted]
Paid:	Chicago
Introduction	N. R.
Remarks	Request came from state for her tr. See attached

The following information appeared on an attached statement:

"To: From Cultural to out of town, [redacted] Chicago, 2/9/56. For some period dropped from Party before my time '51, made statement for reinstatement, was accepted, was made mindful of regular attendance and responsibility - but attended very irregularly - was travelling

- ④ - New York (REGISTERED)  
① - 100- (CP - USA, Cultural Section)  
① - 100-80633 (CP - USA, Membership)  
④ - Chicago  
① - A/134-46  
① - 100-17623 (CP - USA, Hyde Park Division)  
① - 100-16952 (CP - USA, Membership)

JEK:kw  
(8)



100-80638-1103

SAC, NEW YORK

RE:

b6  
b7C

between Chicago and New York - left for Chicago without transfer - suffers from big shot phobia - always likes to work from the top.

"There is no reason to question political loyalty or integrity - should be given a basic task by the club under their supervision - no objection to re-establishment (from theatre section leadership where she worked)."

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

Date: 7/6/56

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

On 6/12/56 NY 1637-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished material in the possession of PHILIP BART. BART, according to CG 5824-S\*, on 3/11/56, is a member of the CP National Organization Commission.

Included in the material furnished by NY 1637-S\* was a statement of total dues payments in 1955 and 1956. This statement is set out in full below:

"As of 3/31

	"1956		55 AsSS	1955 (A)	
	D	R		D	R
"1. NY	12	302	7	2935	
2. NE		161	4	201	
3. EPa		0		287	
4. WPa		131		48	
5. O		0		108	
6. Mich		176	2	242	
7. Ill		748	1	151	
8. Minn		347		127	
9. Ore		0			
10. Wash		61		214	

		1955 (A)	
D	- D %		R
92	102 - 85 (B)		81
2	947 - 57		3
3	153 - 52		1
1	124 - 59 (B)		2
4	255 - 59 (C)		5
3	065 - 85 (B)		11
7	764 - 65 (B)		16
2	736 - 80		0
	(D)		(D)
2	878 - 73 (E)		11

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
- 1 - All Continental Field Offices (RM)
- (1 - )
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA FUNDS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-56579) (PHILIP BART) (#19)
- ① - New York (100-80638)

RAD:ekm  
(57)

100-80638-1104

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	

J.V. Waters #19

LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

	<u>"1956</u>		<u>55 AsSS</u>	<u>1955 (A)</u>		
	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>		<u>D</u>	<u>- D%</u>	<u>R</u>
11. NJ	118	2	594	6	777 - 74	10
12. Conn	202	1	109	1	012 - 34	0
13. Wisc	0		0	1	718 - 99	6
14. R. Mt.	0		3		481 - 22 (F)	2
15. Mo	35		37		781 - 110	2
16. Ind	0		0		364 - 37	3
18. Md. Wash	210		37	1	676 - 63	4
19. Va	0		0		219 - 83	0
20. Fla	0		0		495 - 86	0
21. NC	0		0		274 - 65	0
22. Tenn	0		0		134 - 70	0
23. Ala-MAL	0		12		408 - 40 (F)	1
24. Cal	1	615	(D)	28	608 - 82	25
25. La	0		0		247 - 62	0
31. Ga	0		0		18 - (G)	0
32. Tx	0		6		175 - 40	2
	<u>16,106</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5,111</u>		<u>163.411 - 77%</u>	<u>185</u>

"Notes:

"A. As of this date, this is the last for 1955. Additional material, which will be recorded will not materially change the picture.

'B. Based on estimated or adjusted memb figure

'C. Now includes Toledo

'D. Funds, but no breakdown received

'E. Now includes Idaho

LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

"F. Based on 54 memb fig

"G. No reliable memb fig"

The column headed "1956" is apparently the total dues payments received by the various CP districts up to March 31st. The column headed "R" is probably recruits received into the CP as of 3/3/56. The next column headed "55 Assessments" contains the total assessments received by the CP and their various districts in 1955. The last column headed "1955" lists the total dues payments, the percent of members making these payments, and the total number of recruits received into the CP in 1955.

Using the figures listed in the third column, a national membership and a district-by-district membership can be obtained for 1955. To obtain the membership figures for the various districts, divide the total dues payments by the percent, and then divide this result by 12 months.

For example, 85% of the NY CP membership made 92,102 dues payments in 1955 (each CP member is supposed to make 12 monthly dues payments each year). By dividing 85% into 92,102 and then dividing by the 12 monthly payments, a membership figure of 9,029 is obtained for the NY district for 1955. Using the same procedure, a national membership figure of 17,685 is obtained for 1955.

Copies of this letter are being sent to all offices in the continental United States for information purposes.

If this material is to be disseminated, extra care should be taken to protect the highly confidential nature of this informant.

The original of this material is being retained as an exhibit in NY 100-56579.

7/27/56

AIR - TEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

SAN FRANCISCO (100-26239)

DIRECTOR, FBI

OP, USA, MEMBERSHIP, IS-C. CINAL.

SAC  
DIV. 1  
DIV. 2  
DIV. 3  
DIV. 4  
SEC. 1  
SEC. 2  
SEC. 3  
SEC. 4  
SEC. 5  
SEC. 6  
SEC. 7  
SEC. 8  
SEC. 9  
SEC. 10  
SEC. 11  
SEC. 12  
SEC. 13  
SEC. 14  
SEC. 15  
SEC. 16  
SEC. 17  
SEC. 18  
SEC. 19  
SEC. 20

CSSF 2140-S\* on 7/25/56 furnished a copy of a notation which appeared in a notebook maintained by WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman of the CP 13th District, which is believed to set forth the CP membership figures inasmuch as it contains figures for 1955, 1956 and the percentage of drops from the period 1952 through 1956. The notations are as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>% of drops, 1952-1956</u>
New York	9000	8800	36
Illinois	1000	900	43
Mich.	300	251	50 ?
Ohio	600	580	28
Eastern Pa.	523	457	34
New Jersey	766	731	20
California	2894	2882	10 (1953-56)
Pittsburgh	150	120	
Virginia	22	25	
Florida	43	38	
N. Carolina	35	30	
Tennessee	16	?	
Alabama	84	15 plus 8 at large	
Louisiana	57	35	
Texas		35	
Georgia	37	3	
Totals	17,600	16,500	

It is noted that the above figures do not total exactly as set forth in the notation.

WILLIAM

3-Bureau (AM-REG)

1-New York; 1-Chicago; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALL AM-REG)

1-SF 100-26239\*

1-SF 100-41858 (CINAL)

LMK:hko;S-1

(10)

*noted - no explanation  
JMB*

*Waters*

100-80638-1105  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
JUL 27 1956  
FBI - NEW YORK  
J.V. WATERS  
JMB

8/3

Director, FBI

7/27/56

SAC, Dallas

CP, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

Rebulet to NY dated 5/25/56.

This office has contacted informants in this area relative to the national policy of the CP regarding transfers. As the Bureau has previously been advised, on 2/18/56, [redacted] made available a copy of the letter dated 12/1/55 prepared by the National Organizational Commission, and addressed to all CP districts regarding transfers. This letter, which is identical with the letter set out in rebulet, was sent by [redacted] a CP functionary in NY, to [redacted] Chairman of the Texas State CP Board, via courier. Photographs of this letter were transmitted to the Bureau. Attached to this letter at the time of its interception by [redacted] was a half sheet of notebook paper on which was the following handwriting:

b6  
b7C  
b7D

"(illegible) & [redacted]  
(illegible) [redacted]  
114 West Second  
Casa Grande, Arizona. This young couple operate a small jewelry store called Palacio deHojas. They feel that Goldwater can be defeated."

Below this in what appears to be another handwriting appeared the following notation:

"From TX. - transfer"

It was believed that the handwriting last referred to might be that of [redacted]

From the above, it would indicate that [redacted] maintains the transfer records in the Dallas Division. [redacted] is known to be the liaison representative of the State Board with the National Board, and has made several trips to NYC. It is believed that on these trips, [redacted] takes any data relative to transfers to the National Office of the CP. The aforementioned letter also had other material which indicated the time of the holding of a Southern Regional Conference in NYC, and also designated [redacted] and [redacted] as alternates for [redacted] to attend same. Both of the [redacted] have been long-time CP members at Fort Worth, Texas, and recently,

2 - Bureau (100-3-68)(RM)  
New York (RM)  
Dallas (100-671-4)

DS

100-80638-1106

*Waters*  
*Waters*  
*Waters*



Letter to Bureau - 7/27/56  
From: SAC, Dallas (100-671-4)  
Re: CP, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

[redacted] made a trip to NYC to attend a conference there. It is believed, therefore, that [redacted] and [redacted] have acted as couriers in the past, and have acted as couriers for the CP in this area with the National CP headquarters. b6 b7C

The Dallas office has been unable to obtain information as to whether these transfers are being maintained at the National Office or kept elsewhere. The Dallas office has not obtained any information which would indicate that transfer records are maintained in this area.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

DATE: June 27, 1956

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Reurlet 1/12/56, captioned as above, concerning the extent of your success in identifying all Communist Party (CP) members in your territory as well as securing complete and accurate membership figures.

Certain investigative steps taken by your office in the past have effectively established the over-all membership figures within your territory as well as throughout the entire country. There is little to show, however, in the way of successful identification of those CP members located in your territory when contrasted with the current membership figure. The last membership figures furnished by your office show approximately 10,618 CP members in your territory as of 3/31/56. The total number of Security Index (SI) subjects with CP affiliation in New York as of 6/15/56 was 2,439. In comparison, several other offices having the next largest concentration of CP members show the following statistics:

<u>Field Office</u>	<u>CP Members as of 3/31/56</u>	<u>SI Subjects With CP Affiliation as of 6/15/56</u>
New York	10,618	2,439
Los Angeles	1,870	2,347
San Francisco	958	1,286
Chicago	896	666
Philadelphia	521	557

From the above, it appears that either (1) a great number of CP members in New York have not been identified or (2) Party membership figures of 10,618 are extremely out of line. While it is felt that there is some exaggeration by the

100-80638-1107

100-80638-1107

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIAL FILED  
JUN 29 1956  
FBI - NEW YORK  
A. T. Bennett

Letter to SAC, New York

Party of its membership figures in New York City, it is not believed to be as low as your SI figures would indicate. Therefore, the discrepancy would lie more in the direction of the unidentified CP members.

Again using the same offices, as set out above, it is significant to note the position of your office in relation to the current number of security informants developed as of the end of May, 1956.

<u>Field Office</u>	<u>Security Informants</u>	<u>Potential Security Informants</u>
Los Angeles	115	49
San Francisco	107	62
New York	68	39
Chicago	62	35
Philadelphia	52	10

It is realized that not all of the security informants totaled above report on CP activities; however, a high percentage do so in each office. Recognizing this factor and without attempting to establish precise figures, there is set forth a further breakdown reflecting an approximate ratio of CP members to security informants in each of the respective offices.

<u>Field Office</u>	<u>Number of CP Members</u>	<u>Number of Security Informants</u>	<u>Approximate Number of CP Members per Security Informant</u>
Los Angeles	1,870	115	16
San Francisco	958	107	9
Chicago	896	62	14
Philadelphia	521	52	10
New York	10,618	68	156

Letter to SAC, New York

The need and certainly the most practical investigative technique for improving the coverage of CP activities through the intensification of your Informant Program has been brought to your attention by the Bureau in the past. It is fundamental in the process of establishing a corps of informants that the larger the number of members known the greater the field of selection and eventual success for improved coverage. Conversely, the more informants developed the more members identified. One process complements the other.

It is noted from a review of letters submitted by your office in conjunction with the progress being made in the development of security informants that the integrated investigative system is being used in security investigations. The use of the integrated investigative system when properly employed and intelligently analyzed will reveal most of the apparent weaknesses in investigative operations as well as highlight those areas in which progress is being made. At the same time it is believed that the integrated investigative system arouses more of a spirit of competition and that recognition for accomplishments can be more accurately established.

*of  
Residence*

You are requested to furnish the Bureau by 9/10/56 with the number of CP members your office has identified as of 9/1/56 broken down geographically by borough and areas within the boroughs. This number will, of course, include all of those currently a part of the SI list. Thereafter, you should report on a bimonthly basis the number of additional members identified in each of the geographical breakdowns to reach the Bureau no later than the tenth of the succeeding month. It will not be necessary to submit names of subjects.

While the purpose of this letter is to stress the need for improving CP membership coverage in your territory, it is at the same time pointing out the definite need for stronger informant coverage as the biggest step toward realizing this aim. It is believed that through proper supervision and intelligent analysis of investigative operations of your office much improvement can be made in this direction. The Bureau intends to closely follow the periodic progress made by your office in this regard.

8/7/50

A handwritten signature, possibly reading "R.", written in dark ink at the bottom right of the page.

1990

On 9/2/57, SS 174-1-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past (confidential), made available documents to support the Communist Party, Communist Party, 121-1-1.

Among the items made available by source was a one page handwritten note entitled, "State of Tenn. v. J. Edgar Hoover" of this handwritten note is attached to all copies of this communication.

The original photograph of the above information was made available by source to being returned to the original New York copy of this document. Negatives of this information are located in New York file 100-361120.

[illegible]

100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105

[illegible]

(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1  
(Enc. 1

*100-80638-1168*

74  
% rate of Memb. drop.

New York 1952-1956 incl - appr. 36%

Cal. 1953-1956 incl - 10%

Ill. 1952-1956 incl - 43%

N.J. 1952-1956 incl - 20%

E. Pa 1952-1956 incl - 34%

Ohio 1952-1956 incl - 28%

W. Pa 1952-1956 incl - ~~23~~ 27%

Mich No authoritative figures at all.  
Estimate 1952-600 → 1956-300 or 50%  
drop at least.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: August 3, 1956

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party membership as of June 30, 1956, by states and territories, by field divisions and Communist Party districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.

Enclosures (2)

cc in  
100-128817 (CP USA - Dist 2 - membership)

100-80638-1109

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 6 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*H. A. [signature]*



# ESTIMATED COUNTRY MAIL REQUIREMENTS

As of June 30, 1955

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and four major party districts:

## ESTIMATED COUNTRY MAIL REQUIREMENTS

Alabama	15	Massachusetts	470	S. Carolina	5
Arizona	79	Michigan	251	S. Dakota	11
Arkansas	0	Minnesota	104	Tennessee	11
California	2216	Mississippi	0	Texas	21
Colorado	62	Missouri	110	Utah	33
Connecticut	287	Montana	23	Vermont	13
Delaware	11	Nebraska	16	Virginia	23
District of Columbia	153	Nevada	2	Washington	370
Florida	148	New Hampshire	43	W. Virginia	17
Georgia	8	New Jersey	731	Wisconsin	100
Idaho	74	New Mexico	17	Wyoming	6
Illinois	217	New York	2,800		
Indiana	130	N. Carolina	45	<u>Territories</u>	
Iowa	10	N. Dakota	13	Alaska	0
Kansas	7	Ohio	501	Hawaii	12
Kentucky	10	Oklahoma	21	Puerto Rico	37
Louisiana	21	Oregon	22		
Maine	17	Pennsylvania	301		
Maryland	177	Rhode Island	37		
				Total	12,573

## ESTIMATED COUNTRY MAIL REQUIREMENTS

Albany	111	Boston	23	Columbus	76
Albuquerque	17	Buffalo	137	Philadelphia	443
Anchorage	0	Butte	13	Phoenix	75
Atlanta	7	Cincinnati	5	Pittsburgh	147
Baltimore	141	Little Rock	0	Portland	20
Birmingham	7	Los Angeles	1,437	Richmond	13
Boston	545	Louisville	10	St. Louis	110
Buffalo	124	Memphis	6	Salt Lake City	38
Butte	27	Miami	48	San Antonio	15
Charlotte	47	Minneapolis	100	San Diego	28
Chicago	410	Mississippi	261	San Francisco	425
Cincinnati	73	Mobile	0	San Juan	37
Cleveland	220	Newark	731	Savannah	11
Dallas	25	New Haven	207	Seattle	241
Denver	85	New Orleans	31	Springfield	13
Detroit	251	New York	0,430	WFO	150
El Paso	6	Norfolk	13		
Honolulu, T.H.	12	Oklahoma City	21	Total	12,573

287 # 125 100-85638-1109



# DISTRICTS

<u>Total</u>		<u>States Included in Districts</u>	
District 1	568	Maine	17
		New Hampshire	13
		Massachusetts	170
		Vermont	15
		Rhode Island	37
District 2	6,000	New York	6,000
District 3	487	East. Pennsylvania	483
		Iowa	14
District 4	203	Maryland	137
		Dist. of Columbia	156
District 5	180	West. Pennsylvania	180
District 6	680	Ohio	680
		Kentucky	20
		New Hampshire	1
		Counties in N. Virginia	
District 7	751	Michigan	751
District 8	1,007	Illinois	930
		Indiana	70
		(Lake Co.)	
District 9	362	Minnesota	101
		N. Dakota	43
		S. Dakota	41
District 10	63	Indiana	63
District 11	60	Oregon	60
District 12	328	Washington	328
		Alaska	0
District 13	8,982	California	6,110
		Arizona	21
		Florida	1
		Utah	17

It is noted that more states are covered by more than one of Districts; therefore, a total compilation for the individual states is also being included in this memorandum.

# Continued (cont.)

District 14	721	New Jersey	721
District 15	602	Connecticut	602
District 16	100	Wisconsin	100
District 17	65	Colorado	65
		New Mexico	17
		Utah	0
		El Paso area of Texas	0
District 21	110	Missouri	110
		Illinois	0
District 22	75	West Virginia (less the four "panhandle" counties)	75
District 23	75	Texas except El Paso area	75
District 24	31	Louisiana	31
District 25	40	Florida	40
District 26	75	Virginia	75
District 27	15	Alabama	15
		Mississippi	0
		Tennessee	11
District 28	21	Oklahoma	21
		Arkansas	0
District 29	45	N. Carolina	45
		S. Carolina	5
District 30	52	Georgia	52
		South	74
District 31	0	Florida	0
District 32	33	Nebraska	33
		Iowa	10
		Missouri	7
District 35	33	Utah	33

Summary

Alameda	0	0
San Jose	12	12
Puerto Rico	37	37
	<u>17,273</u>	<u>17,273</u>

\* This figure is also reported in District 12.  
\* This figure is also reported in District 13.

1974

Districts 15, 17, 20, 33, and 34  
have been previously reorganized and combined with  
other districts.



COMMERCIAL CREDITORS' UNPAID DEBTS BY CITIES

	<u>5/30/53</u>	<u>10/31/53</u>	<u>3/31/54</u>	<u>6/30/54</u>
Albany	104	104	101	101
Albuquerque	72	61	19	17
Anchorage	1	0	0	0
Atlanta	12	20	7	7
Bohemia	116	124	114	141
Birmingham	11	7	7	7
Boston	541	550	545	545
Buffalo	556	555	556	552
Butte	69	71	70	68
Charlotte	62	55	47	47
Chicago	1,030	1,030	876	110
Cincinnati	70	71	73	73
Cleveland	515	518	510	520
Dallas	29	30	30	35
Dayton	86	75	61	62
Detroit	150	150	101	251
El Paso	6	6	6	6
Honolulu, T.H.	12	12	12	12
Houston	51	42	39	33
Indianapolis	118	159	113	192
Kansas City	35	32	15	15
Knoxville	7	5	5	5
Little Rock	4	3	1	0
Los Angeles	1,075	1,014	1,870	1,887
Louisville	12	12	15	10
Memphis	6	6	6	6
Miami	40	43	43	40
Minneapolis	205	180	180	150
Mississippi	100	107	105	105
Mobile	10	0	0	0
Monroe	640	705	779	781
New Haven	211	215	217	202
New Orleans	28	35	30	31
New York	11,105	10,026	10,810	9,435
Norfolk	17	17	17	17
Oklahoma City	24	21	21	21
Omaha	12	10	10	20
Philadelphia	530	500	501	463
Phoenix	25	33	23	19
Pittsburgh	247	247	247	247
Portland	110	75	60	60
Richmond	10	17	13	13
St. Louis	193	110	110	110
Salt Lake City	60	44	42	40
San Antonio	14	13	25	19

ESTIMATED MONTHLY MEMBERSHIP VALUES BY COUNTRY (cont.)

	<u>0/30/55</u>	<u>12/31/55</u>	<u>1/31/56</u>	<u>6/30/56</u>
San Diego	150	59	54	63
San Francisco	923	918	920	951
San Juan	35	37	37	37
Stamford	3	1	3	4
Seattle	301	370	323	373
Portland	24	49	57	73
Los Angeles	155	150	155	155
TOTAL	<u>1,488</u>	<u>2,074</u>	<u>17,545</u>	<u>17,993</u>

• This indicates significant fluctuation in membership.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-3447)

8/8/56

SA [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED]

Reliability:

Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity:

7/22/56

Date Received:

7/23/56

Received By:

SA [REDACTED]

Location:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on 7/12/56, advised he had spoken with [REDACTED] concerning the present tragedy of the CP movement. [REDACTED] advised the informant that he is greatly grieved over the treatment of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

[REDACTED] advised the informant that it is due time the CP should make the change as to what it should be or give up.

[REDACTED] advised the informant that the entire membership is disturbed and upset. He advised further that he expects many losses in CP membership but that the people who remain would be a solid corps of good party people, the type of individual the CP wants.

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b7D

- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA)
- 1 - New York (100-80635) (JEWISH ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - New York [REDACTED] (P & C)

TPH: MMC  
(5)

100-80638-1110

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

NEW YORK

*J. D. Waters*  
#19

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

DATE: 8/17/56

FROM: [REDACTED] SA (7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)  
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.  
Date of Activity: 6/28/56.  
Date Received: 7/6/56.  
Received by: SA [REDACTED]  
Location: [REDACTED]

1-Pittsburgh 100- (ABE LNU, member of the Pittsburgh Smith Act Committee)  
1-Pittsburgh 100- (FNU [REDACTED] codefendant of STEVE NELSON)  
1- [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)  
1-NY 100-80532 (H. APOTHEKER)(12-11)  
1-NY 100-8057 (E. DENNIS)(19)  
1-NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS)(19)  
1-NY 100-49162 (SU)(6)  
1-NY 100-95583 (CP LINE)(12-14)  
1-NY 100-80638 (CP MEMBERSHIP)  
1-NY 100-14859 [REDACTED](7-2)  
1-NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER)(7-2)  
1-NY 100-74560 (CP FUNDS)(12-14)  
1-NY 100-9365 (W.Z. FOSTER)(12-10)  
1-NY 100-120128 (PARTY VOICE)  
1-NY 100-52710 [REDACTED]  
1-NY 100-58535 (CONSTANTINE RADZI)(7-6)  
1-NY 100-107774 (DR. HARRY COHEN)(12-15)  
1-NY 100-64755 [REDACTED](12-14)  
1-NY 100- [REDACTED](7-6)  
1-NY 100-47632 [REDACTED](12-14)  
1-NY 65-5604 (W. ALBERTSON)(7-5)  
1-NY 100-7767 [REDACTED](20-10)  
1-NY 100-114143 [REDACTED](12-11)  
1-NY 100-95097 [REDACTED](12-14)

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JPH:EEC  
(25)

100-80638-1111

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 17 1956	
FBI NEW YORK	

Waters

#19

MEMO  
NY 100-4931

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

By report dated 7/2/56, informant reported on meeting held 6/28/56 at Chateau Gardens, NYC.



Report

Communist Party  
USA Activities

July 2, 1956  
New York

Some 700 Communists attended a Communist Party mass meeting on the problems facing the Communist movement in the United States. The meeting was held on June 28th, 1956 at the Chatteau Gardens in New York.

Admission to the meeting was by invitation cards, which a member was able to get at any CP organization.

H. Apthekar chaired the meeting.

The chairman told the meeting that Eugene Dennis, who was scheduled to address the meeting, took sick and was unable to come to this meeting: "He has a cardiac condition and he worked to hard at the recently held meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party. (The National Committee of the CP, USA met on June 22nd, 23rd and 24th, 1956). I am sure that everyone here will join me in wishing Gene a speedy recovery." He introduced Max Weiss, National Educational director of the CP, as the speaker at this meeting.

Max Weiss said that he is not substituting for Gene Dennis, that he didn't have a chance to prepare himself to speak but he will try his best to state his views on the problems facing the Communist movement in the light of the 20th Congress of the Communist party SU.

Max Weiss stated that we are living in a new era, "an era in which socialism became a world system."

He said that one of the most important contributions of the 20th congress of the Communist Party, SU was Khrushchev's report to that congress that the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system is the main feature of our era.

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He underlined that some 900 million people are now in the socialist camp and that as a result of this the struggle for socialism is being waged under new conditions and that "peacefull transition (from capitalism to socialism) is now possible on a world scale".

He also underlined that war "is not inevitable" and that "co-existence is on the order of the day" and that "the American people reacted favorable to the Khrushchev report."

Max Weiss also stated that "Stalin's crimes are alien to socialism" and that Krushchev's report shows that the campaign which was waged by the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union for the last 3 years against the cult of the individual was aimed at the removing of this road block of socialism."

Weiss also stated that it is wrong to describe "all the bad things" to Stalin and that "the central committee of the CPSU must still answer some questions which are disturbing our party and the international Communist movement."

He underlined that the fact that "Pravda" reprinted Eugene Dennis article shows that the Communist party of the Soviet Union "feels its responsibility to the international Communist movement and might shortly answer the many disturbing questions." Talking on the above mentioned Dennis article which was reprinted in the "Pravda" Max Weiss criticized Eugene Dennis for not submitting this to the party's "collective leadership for approval". Weiss asked: "why wasn't Stalin stoped? Our party and the other C mmunist parties of the world are still waiting for the real answer to this question. The answer that a struggle against Stali'n would have undermined confidence in the Communist party of the Soviet Union is nonsense. It is not true. The hero-worship of Stalin was accepted by the Central Committee of the CPSU. The silence of Khrushchev on this point requires an explanation."

He said that "the Marxists of all countries are obliged to participate in the analysis of the Stalin era and reach full conclusions on this."

Weiss spoke of the building of socialism "in a backward country" (Russia) and that the "outside world tried to strangle the Soviet Union" and that this led "to the most centralized dictatorship of the proletariat" but with the death of Stalin this era came to an end and the "present leadership of the Soviet Union is undergoing many changes and now our own party has some re-examination of our own."

Max Weiss underlined that "the workers of the world have a common interest" and that "the struggle for socialism is international" and that "criticism and self criticism will only strengthen the socialist advance" and that "the fight for socialism will continue in a new prospective" and "our party will be called to make its contribution to socialism" and he asked the membership of the Communist party USA to participate in the discussions and not to wait for a blue print from the leader but to give to the leadership a blueprint for its' orientation.

He also stated that the national committee of the CP is ready to send representatives to the party clubs to listen in and to participate in the discussions. The chairman asked to send up written question which will be answered by Max Weiss.

During the remarks made by [redacted] the chairman received many written questions which he and Weiss were assorting.

[redacted] appealed to those who did not yet become subscribers of the Daily Worker and The Worker to do so here by filling out the subscription blanks which were placed on each seat in the hall.

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He also asked everyone to participate in the present fund drive of the Daily Worker. He said that the paper must have "at least \$40,000 during this summer to exist."

He made a few cracks about "some questions that are creating sleepless nights in Washington: Are the Communist movements getting weaker by the day or stronger by the week? Has the Kremlin relaxed control or is it just relaxed? Is it good news for John Foster Dulles or for William Z. Foster?" etc.

[redacted] concluded with a call to work for a "democratic coalition against the monopolists" and for a "democratic socialist America."

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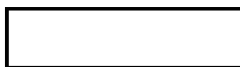
Max Weiss told the meeting that it will be impossible for him to answer here all of the questions; that he will try to find a way to answer most of the questions possible through to "Party Voice" or some other medium.

He answered one question: (he did not read the question) "Well, there is a tendency to minimize our accomplishments. We made an outstanding contribution in the struggle for peace, civil rights and against McCarthyism. Yes, we are advancing the idea that our government should adopt the policy of co-existence." An other question he answered: "Wide discussions and the developing of a mass socialist movement goes together." Answering another question: "It was wrong to make decission and policies without consulting those comrades who are directly involved in the work. There should be consultations between the leadership in those who are involved in trade union and in mass work."

Another answer: "We have suffered tremendous losses in membership. We reject Browderism- it is class colaboration. We are now examing all the cases of those who were expelled from the party and we will try to get most of them back."

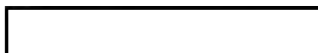
Two more answers:


- 1) "Changes are necessary in the constitution of the party."
- 2) "The question of a United socialist party should be discussed by the membership."



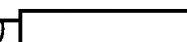
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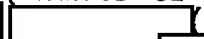

At the Communist Party meeting which was held on June 28th, 1956 at the Chatteau Gardens in New York I saw the following people:

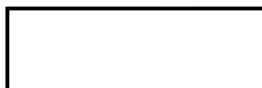
 collected the admission cards.

Constantine Radzi, Dr. Harry Cohen,  (Negro).

 William Albertson, 

Abe, (member of the Pittsburgh Smith Act Committee), 

  of Steve Nelson-Pittsburgh Smith Act case) and  (of the Russxy Golos).



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-6A)

8/22/56

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26239)

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

Re Bureau letter, 8/17/56; and SF airtel, 8/2/56, captioned as above, with attached Photostats of membership datum concerning the California CP.

For the purpose of clarifying the information appearing on page "L-19" of the above described enclosure, the following interpretation is offered:

Page "L-19" is a summary sheet of CP membership in California containing a breakdown of the CP's concentrations in mass organizations. The sheet contains figures broken down into two columns opposite each listed organization. One column is headed "Members only" and the other column is marked "Active in."

From a review of the 1956 registration figures previously furnished by SF 2158-S\*, which contained a breakdown of CP concentration by sections in SF, and by contact with [redacted] and [redacted] both of whom were actively engaged in the computation and reporting of the 1956 CP registration, it is believed that these two columns must be interpreted as separate and independent figures. It appears that persons who are members of a group may or

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- 2-Bureau (100-3-6A) (RM)
- 1-New York (RM)
- 1-Los Angeles (RM)
- 1-San Diego (RM)
- 1-Honolulu (RM)
- 1-San Francisco (100-26239)

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(7)

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Waters  
Waters  
#17

Letter to Bureau  
SF 100-26239

may not be included as active in that organization depending upon their participation. It also appears that there are non-members of a particular group who participate in the activities of that organization and are thus included in the "Active in" column.

It does not appear that the total of both columns will accurately reflect the CP influence in a particular group as each figure may be inclusive of each other by an undeterminable percentage.

FBI

8/30/56

A I R T E L

REGULAR - REGISTERED

BALTIMORE (100-13051)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-362555)

LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

IS - C;

CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP

IS - C

CINAT

On 8/30/56, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised that he learned from [redacted] identified by informant as a current member of the CP at Baltimore, Maryland, that the Labor Youth League will disband in the near future and that all LYL members, age 20 and over, who have a "progressive" background will be taken as members of the Communist Party and placed in the various CP sections. [redacted] advised that an example of a "progressive" background is a youth who is a member of a Communist or progressive family. [redacted] advised that [redacted] recently returned from New York with orders concerning this transition and that these transfers are to take place before the beginning of 1957. [redacted] further stated that the proposed rebuilding of the Party must be done with youth and that this is a step in that direction.

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On 2/7/56 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, identified [redacted] as a CP member at Baltimore, Md.

BROWN  
END

- 5 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- ④ - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 5 - Baltimore (100-13051)
  - 100-19876 CINAT
  - 100-12170 CP, MEMBERSHIP
  - 100-12462 CP, YOUTH

DLM:cm  
(14)

AIR-TEL -----  
VIA AIR MAIL -----  
AMSD -----  
REGULAR MAIL -----  
REGISTERED MAIL -----

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NE 100-95240

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
19 SEP 1 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Waters JWH



OFFICE MEMORANDUM - United States Government

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763) DATE: 8/27/56

FROM: SA H. RAWLINS OVERTON

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT 13, LOS  
ANGELES FIELD DIVISION  
IS-C

NOTE: DUE TO THE FACT THAT THIS WAS A LIVE INFORMANT  
EVERY PRECAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO CONCEAL INFORMANT'S  
IDENTITY IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING:

HRO:amd

cc

100-4486  
100-6977  
100-24753  
100-23958  
100-3958  
100-23660  
100-24842  
100-20582  
100-19701  
100-31519  
100-5707  
100-7612  
100-30398  
100-37783  
100-19933  
100-20175  
100-27931  
100-4663  
100-30798  
100-23069  
100-39846  
100-20737  
100-24035  
100-24119  
100-6445  
100-23537  
100-32330  
100-7944  
100-33476  
100-26149  
100-24502  
100-33232

100-new  
100-new

(ALEX

(BERNICE

100-17375 (SWP)  
100-26044 (Org.)  
100-23933 (Membership)  
100-23488 (Funds)  
100-24345 (Neg. Question)  
100-25365 (Strat. in Industry)  
100-24352 (Factionalism)

5 - SAN FRANCISCO REGISTERED  
(Wm. Schneiderman, Org.,  
Membership, Strat. in  
Industry, Funds, Negro  
Question, Factionalism)

21 - NEW YORK REGISTERED  
(Ben Davis, Wm. Z. Foster,  
Eugene

Dennis,  
John Gates, Max Weiss, Ed.  
Strong, Albert Blumberg,  
Geo. Channey, Hal Simon,  
Geo. Watt, James Jackson,  
Org., Funds, Negro Question,  
Daily Worker, Strat, Industry,  
Membership, CP, USA Dist. 2,  
U.E. (N.Y.)

1 - CHICAGO REGISTERED  
(Claude Lightfoot)

1 - DETROIT REGISTERED  
(Carl Winter)

1 - NEWARK REGISTERED

1 - SAN DIEGO REGISTERED (Info)

100-80638-1114

W. J. J. J.

W. J. J. J.  
#19

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L.A. 100-1763

On 7/17/56, [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a report to SA H.R. OVERTON. The original report, initialed by informant on 8/23/56, is filed in [ ] This report was taken in dictation from the informant and transcribed by SE [ ] whose stenotype notes are filed in [ ]

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Los Angeles, California  
7/17/56

On Friday, 7/13/56, there was an enlarged meeting of the County Committee which, according to the understanding I got, was to include not only the members of the County Committee but all Division Organizers and Division Org. Secs. This meeting continued on Saturday, 7/14/56. Present were: DOROTHY HEALEY, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ROSE CHERNIN, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BEN DOBBS, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who took shorthand notes

of the report. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALEC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CYRIL BRIGGS.

[REDACTED] BERNIE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and BILL SCHNEIDERMAN. There were 50 or 60 people present. The meeting was chaired by DOROTHY HEALEY who introduced BILL SCHNEIDERMAN. He spoke about two and one-half hours without interruption except for one break halfway through. There was no discussion. The discussion on SCHNEIDERMAN's report was an all-day meeting on Saturday.

SCHNEIDERMAN said his report was based on a meeting of the National Committee which had been held apparently the week before in New York City, and this was an intermediary meeting between the first meeting he attended and the third meeting to take place 7/23-24/56, in New York, at which time there will be a report back from the sub-committee on certain basic policy and an effort to evolve something from the confusion of the previous discussion.

There were three main points: 1. Party org. 2. The KHRUSHCHEV report. 3. Negro Question.

He started in reverse.

On the Negro Question, the main report at the National Committee meeting was given by BEN DAVIS, and represented apparently a somewhat collective opinion from the National Negro Commission, although he said there were differences of opinion that had risen within the discussion.

First, on the characterization of the Negro peoples struggle; he said, that this struggle has now reached the highest point since the Reconstruction period, and is the property of the whole American people, and is no longer a question

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of concern to only the Negro people. It has achieved international repercussions, particularly among colonial people, and there are alliances of the Negro people and the labor movement. Then he, SCHNEIDERMAN, made the statement that BEN DAVIS stated that a realistic perspective exists for the Negro people in the democratic system, and everyone should get this point. On the characterization of the Negro struggle at this period it has shifted to a center of gravity based in the South, and is led by native Negro leaders in the South. The main alliances are in the North and with labor, meaning it has a working class orientation. The white masses generally in the South are neither aggressively hostile or actively supporting the struggle. The White Citizens Council can be chiefly characterized by a campaign of terror and economic reprisals. The mass role of the NAACP reflects the all class role of the struggle. This is not limited to the workers and agrarian forces, but is developing important Negroes in the South in all professional groups. Significant of the Supreme Court decision in the fight on integration, is the coalition developed against Senator EASTLAND, who is identified with the White Citizens Council type of movement. The coalition takes people of all sectors and developed primarily around the Supreme Court decision. This is no longer an agrarian struggle.

DAVIS reported roughly 50 per cent of the people involved in the struggle come from industrial centers. The role of the Party is to speed the democracy of the South and aid development of the national aspect, the right to vote, land reform, etc. In the North the key issues are housing, education, jobs and segregation. It's necessary for the Party not to try to impose our ideology on the issues, but to develop the Negro ideas. He said education is not a key issue in the North, and is not an issue we would select, but since it has been selected by the Negro people this must be supported as a key issue. He made it clear the Party cannot base its position on the demand the Negro people support international issues since Negro issues must be domestic issues primarily. He characterized the role of the Party in the past, in spite of its major contributions to the Negroes, as left sectarian, and cited characterizations by the Party of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and the Negro Labor Councils as ways to isolate the Negro people from the Party. He said the National Negro Commission has appointed a sub-committee to review theoretical questions, basically on whether the Negro people constitute a nation, which is a controversy presently raging in the Party. On white chauvinism, characterizations were made that we are a party of Negro - white unity, and Negro nationalism and chauvinism cannot be

a main struggle anymore, because while the question of white chauvinism is a political, ideological question and there is a need to strengthen the Party against white chauvinism, there is much more at stake than merely to reduce the struggle to this level. The development of the Negro woman is one of the key problems. The Party can play a role in Negro communities, and he, DAVIS, stated that our relations with the Negro communities is better than with any other section of people, and we have more ties and strength with the Negro people than any other people. He proposed a Negro-Marxist paper.

SCHNEIDERMAN reported that at the National Committee discussion CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT raised the question of FOSTER's formulation that the Negro people are a young and developing nation, but had not achieved the characterization of a full nation yet, was one that confused LIGHTFOOT, and he felt FOSTER had done a disservice in making this formulation because it confused the issue whether or not the Negro people were a nation. LIGHTFOOT said our main role in the Negro community is education for Socialism, and not issues around the National Question. He said the Negro people are an oppressed minority; that Negro people should associate themselves with neutral peoples of the world politically and should be identified the same way, politically, as the Indian people or other groups not allied with the imperialistic west or Socialism, but should take a neutral position.

CARL WINTER took the position the Negro Question is still a national question.

[ ] did not agree on white chauvinism because he believed it's the main issue, and stated that new Negro recruits enter the Party with more Negro nationalism than white comrades come in with.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER stated that sectarianism on the Negro Question is worse than in any other field. On theory we took STALIN's formulations on the National Question far too literally. He compared the Negro people as a nation which they have not achieved, and compared them to the people of Wales. He said we should not abandon the formula of Negro people as a nation, but he did not characterize the Negro people as a nation at this point.

SCHNEIDERMAN was very critical of DAVIS' report stating it did not answer the role of the Party in relation to the Negro people adequately, and felt our role should be to help and point out the next step. He felt that our

main responsibility should be a struggle on white chauvinism.

EUGENE DENNIS stated the civil rights issue is a pivotal point in the election struggle and the fight for Negro representation is the key political action to be brought to the people.

[ ] said the National Question is paramount in the struggle for Negro rights. He stated that in California the two main points are: 1. All class unity in the Negro peoples struggle, which should be a permanent struggle in places like California. 2. The Party must give Negro comrades latitude and autonomy to develop Negro policy and then the Party should support this policy.

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JOHN GATES said the Negro people are in need of national consciousness. In discussing the nation he said we overlooked the fact the Negro people are a part of a nation, an oppressed minority.

DAVIS spoke on the shift of the struggle to the South, and said we should shift ourselves to the South not only on the question of white chauvinism but strengthening rights.

SCHNEIDERMAN said there was a motion that the National Committee approve the main line of the report and implement proposals in reports to the sub-committee of the National Negro Commission.

On the KHRUSHCHEV report SCHNEIDERMAN said there were sharp differences in the National Committee in its reaction to KHRUSHCHEV's speech and developments following the report being published. DENNIS reported on this saying that certain historical and objective factors led to the role of STALIN. He raised a question as to the role of the present leadership and a further question as to the role of the Daily Worker, which he said verged on being anti-Soviet Union, and the role of JOHNNY GATES, Editor of the Daily Worker. DENNIS felt these differences should be discussed. DENNIS stood in agreement with the MAX WEISS report that the errors were representative, and the responsibility of the whole Soviet Union leadership in regard to STALIN, and stated further that mutual criticism is correct and necessary between Communist Parties of various countries, and we have a right to criticize the Russian Party. He disagreed with the call in the Daily Worker for abolition of capital punishment. He disagreed on the Daily Worker editorial on

the KHRUSHCHEV report in that it rushed to conclusions without consulting leadership or membership of the Party. He was critical of ABNER BERRY and [ ] and was critical of the column on [ ] (ph). He was critical of the JOE CLARK column which said the errors were being corrected in Eastern democracies but not in the USSR, and saying the USSR refused to correct errors and the Eastern countries were farther ahead than the USSR. The Daily Worker attitude was not friendly criticism but anti-Soviet Union and inflammatory.

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GATES position was that none of DENNIS' articles have taken note of what happened in the USSR. He denies the Daily Worker editors ever tried to minimize the CP.

FOSTER spoke regarding the Daily Worker. First on the question of the errors in the USSR having been based in a historical situation. Its not true that there was no background in bourgeoisie democracy in the Soviet Union, and it was necessary for the LENINIST Party to impose Socialism by force because the Russian people were not ready for Communism, and therefore, they were hostile, as he put it, and it was necessary to impose it by force, and this was the reason harshness arose because it was a pattern stemming from this background. He also attributed excesses to capitalistic encirclement, and said STALIN had mass support and the present leaders weren't in position to expose STALIN because the Soviet people would not accept it; that STALIN was different from LENIN in personality and the excesses were because he had a different kind of personality and LENIN wouldn't have done this, but the present leadership in the USSR had exposed these excesses and the Security Division had taken over from the Central Committee. Earlier denouncement of STALIN might have split the Party in the Soviet Union, and the enemy forces would have moved in and destroyed Socialism there.

MAX WEISS took the position that errors may flow from the Soviet State; that Socialism was violated by the Communist State. Political decisions are made by individuals and because these individuals weren't utilizing Marxism and Leninism they made errors, but the structure of Socialism doesn't have these errors in it.

SCHNEIDERMAN said there was a big hassel about endorsing the main line of the Daily Worker. He took the position that the National Board and the people at the center have abdicated leadership and are maneuvering among themselves with power politics; that they are playing an unprincipled role in fighting among themselves and are

rushing into meetings with a completely formulated opinion. This has become a scandalous thing in the East, and there are questions of retaining the present leadership. He said that in an effort to resolve the situation so the National leadership could continue with unity they threw together a resolution which endorsed the main line of the Daily Worker saying that the Daily Worker was moving in the right direction generally although there were a number of weaknesses and errors. Nobody was happy with this formulation but they came out with no blank checks for the Daily Worker or for DENNIS, the two furthest groups apart. They finally adopted a statement printed in the Daily Worker and partly republished in the Peoples World endorsing generally the main line of the Daily Worker.

On Party org. SCHNEIDERMAN said the Committee was not prepared to make any comprehensive overall report. The National Committee did not come in with such a report, and the Org. Committee in New York District made up a report, and he said the weaknesses in the report were it was based on experiences in New York State and not applicable to the rest of the country, but it did provide a taking off point for a general discussion. New York lost two-thirds of its membership since 1946. SCHNEIDERMAN said California only lost fifty per cent. The New York report attributed this to objective factors such as tactics against the Party during that period where comrades were afraid because of attacks, errors made in arbitrary decisions where large amounts of people were dropped without consultation, in 1952 due to draft resolutions, and around the election campaign.

On the question of trade union work there is improvement of the industrial composition of trade unions, and a shifting of additional people into industry. 2. We have adopted exaggerated objectives that are impossible to support, and made demands on the membership to take on a number of tasks that could not be achieved, i.e. the CRC mobilization for thousands of people to go to Washington. This was unrealistic because it was impossible to get thousands of people to Washington. On fund drives the Party is in serious financial straits; and there is a financial crises in the Daily Worker and Peoples World, and we make financial demands that drain the Party membership and surrounding forces. The question is what should be done with the paper as a result of this situation.

On org. forms: 1. There should be a severe slash on the number of full timers on the National staff. 2. Policy making bodies must be made up of full timers and certain



people in mass work. 3. Decentralization of the Party is essential, and policy should be made in local areas unless of national import. Trade union forces to have autonomy in developing policy, Negro forces to have autonomy in developing policy, and local, State and County sections of the Party to have autonomy in developing policy for their areas. The State leadership role be limited to State concentrations.

New questions on Party org. were: A monolithic Party, democratic centralism, and organization of a new mass Party for Socialism. 1. Discussion around the monolithic concept with democratic principles. 2. Democratic centralism. We distort democratic centralism by our methods of channeling decisions from the top to the bottom without reverse channeling ever being opened. We must revert to majority rule. 2. The leadership should be selected by their record. 4. Leadership must be elected by democratic elections. 5. We must find channels for mass work. 6. We must develop independent expression on international affairs in the Party. As to the form of organization: 1. The question of industrial clubs. We must not liquidate industrial clubs. 2. On the question of Industrial Divisions, New York has merged all industrial clubs into one division. Philadelphia has dissolved Industrial Divisions and Clubs. There was sharp disagreement between New York and Philadelphia.

SCHNEIDERMAN said in the discussion DENNIS said that the perspectives set out in the report were correct. A new mass party of Socialism is a perspective we should work toward. Perhaps the National Convention can make a change in the name to broaden the Party.

We must strengthen democratic processes within the Party. There should be no basic policy change without a convention. The Constitution should provide for more initiative.

SCHNEIDERMAN said he presented the comments of the California State Board which were based on a proposal sent in on experiences of organization in California: 1. A delegated conference be convened on a section or regional area to discuss mass work and perspectives. 2. There be Regional Conventions and frequent conferences between conventions. 3. Review of policy. 4. Membership must be informed of differences of opinion among the leadership; an end to unanimous reports. 5. Leading bodies should be elected by direct representation and should function as policy making bodies; should not be used as mobilizing bodies.

6. The Party membership should be granted a Bill of Rights, there should be no expulsion except for acts against the Party, and a Constitution should be adopted containing the rights of members. Co-option should be eliminated. The leadership must report back to the lower bodies. 7. Clubs should be given greater autonomy in developing agendas. 8. Leadership should be broadened to include those in mass work. 9. Leadership should not wait for conventions. Discussion on leadership should be opened on club levels. 10. Problem of how to bring decisions down to the clubs and get the thinking of the club going up. 11. Provisions by which membership can discuss changing policy between conventions. 12. Local or State By-Laws establishing how the leadership should be elected.

These are to be published in the Discussion Bulletin in full form. These were recommendations from California delivered by SCHNEIDERMAN.

JOHN GATES on the California proposals: If we don't make the change we're through as a Party, at least we should change the name. He reported that he had met with some trade union forces who previously had been in the Party, and also some ex-Party people in New York, who are not enemies of the Party but who are no longer in the Party, who met with him regarding the policy of organizing a new and separate CP to be based primarily on trade union forces. What this means was not spelled out further. Implications from the way it was raised makes it possible these might be Taft Hartley people or people who are no longer in the Party at this point, but not anti-Party. He said we have only begun to fight sectarianism, but this will be a main fight.

FOSTER spoke on Party leadership and the errors of the last ten years, and stated we are getting what we asked for. He doesn't think we should have presented things as was done in the DENNIS report. We opened the flood gates to the membership and they're letting us have it back. We have an ideological crises in the Party. This is developing a right wing in the CP composed and led by CLARK and STAROBIN and some of the New York leadership, and this represents a major danger of sharp cleavage within the Party leadership.

A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a report on the last five years. Chairman, MAX WEISS, Secretary, ED STRONG. 2. Committee on Platform, Chairman WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Secretary ALBERT BLUMBERG. 3. Negro Work,

Chairman, BEN DAVIS, Secretary GEORGE CHARNEY. 4. Trade Union, Chairman CARL WINTER, Secretary [redacted] There will be a brief statement and analysis on the status of the UE, which is to be or not to be. 5. Committee on Personnel and Cadre, Chairman [redacted] Secretary [redacted] 6. Committee on Constitution, Chairman CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Secretary JOHN GATES. 7. Committee on Main Report, Chairman EUGENE DENNIS, Secretary JAMES JACKSON. Plus one member from California to be included on all these committees, which means nine people from California.

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The next meeting of the National Committee is to be 7/23/56, then a National Election Conference on 9/16-17/56 in New York.

Then there was a resolution at the National Committee meeting requesting the National Committee to guarantee channeling every step of the organizing between now and the convention.

The State Committee in California recommended that all Party Orgs. in California should review their work and prepare to discuss their work at a State Committee meeting, at which time the State will prepare a report of its work. He said certain proposals were made on individual points, such as the Negro Question, clubs, certain org. problems, particularly on inner Party democracy and structure, however, the methods are confusing. SCHNEIDERMAN said to dissolve the present CP would be bad; that it would be impossible to merge with other Socialist forces as we would be more middle class and not less sectarian. The essential features which must be retained in the Party are its working class composition, its capability of acting in a struggle. All attention should be directed toward "has our CP become so discredited it can't retain its role."

The meeting adjourned at about 11:30 p.m.

The session on 7/14/56 opened at 10:00 a.m. with DOROTHY HEALEY chairing the meeting at the Park Manor.

In opening the meeting she stated that she wanted to announce two letters received, one from the NORMAN THOMAS Socialist Party wing requesting a joint meeting to arrange a public debate on the question of the Socialist world today and where its going. A sub-committee was set-up in the County composed of DOROTHY HEALEY, I think BEN DOBBS and [redacted] They had this meeting with the Socialist Party and agreed on a date but it will have to be changed as it falls on Rosh Hashana. The second letter was signed by [redacted] addressed to the County Committee and said the Steel Club and Auto Club proposed a committee be set-up composed of three from Steel and two from Auto to have a joint meeting with the Socialist Workers Party to promote action. DOROTHY took this opportunity to say the Party has a policy and had in the past of meeting with any honest group which are Socialist minded, including the THOMAS group, for a debate, but our policy is now a united front and no contact with Trotskyites, and that later in the meeting there would be an opportunity to discuss this, but we didn't discuss it as the meeting lasted until 5:00 p.m. They arrived at a procedure agreement that discussions would be limited to 15 minutes per person.

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First was [redacted] who read a document he had stayed up all night preparing. The document covered the following points:

1. Membership of the Party; that the main characterization of the center in New York is they apparently are immobilized and have no ability to resolve political questions; that Party membership should have an opportunity for full discussions and all levels of the Party should support the statement of the National Committee. He was critical of the analysis of the Negro Question and felt it was inadequate. He stated the main direction of the Party must be the road to Socialism, and our relation to what kind of a Party we have to build in this period. He said it was necessary for us to relate our main tasks of finding the path to Socialism to the building of whatever kind of a CP will best enhance this development, but he feels its dangerous to fall into a negative position that Socialism is inevitable. The Party must be oriented to the working class, we must have industrial working class ties but based primarily on American history, the American scene and American development. On the perspective for a mass CP, we cannot become a mass CP through Socialism. He advocated a new Party with an extended base in the labor movement. He ridiculed "that change in name is anything at all." We must fight for democratic centralism, and mentioned Article 4 and Section 7 of the Party Constitution, and said our main weaknesses are in our application of democratic centralism. He advocated a center of the Party separate from the present leadership, and he mentioned several specifics; that the present leadership has become so isolated its incapable of assessing the current situation, and there must be checks and balances like this separate center to provide

an intermediary policy body. 1. Top leadership of the Party must be restricted from making policy contrary to convention decisions. 2. Lift restrictions limiting discussion on policy to the pre-conventions. In the past could only have discussion on policy before a convention. He said lift this. We must provide for an apparatus of review of Party policy between conventions, getting full reports and having discussion around all reports on policy making. Get differences of opinion, conflicts of opinion and how they are resolved. Build the medium of full policy discussions on lower levels within the Party; that the upper bodies of the Party must be restricted as to lower policy making when policy doesn't affect them. He stated that national bodies should make national policy, state on a state basis, etc. and we must include that the Party membership may call for conventions when they feel its necessary, the rank and file should be able to call for a convention.

On KHRUSHCHEV's report and on org. structure: 1. On membership, full endorsement of the Party program, Socialism, payment of dues, following Party discipline, etc. There should be a category of supporting membership to pay nominal sustainer, meeting occasionally, and to have a voice, but no vote. In other words these would be non-Party Bolsheviks; that on the question of clubs and sections, the clubs should be enlarged and meet only twice a month; there should be established regular Section-wide meetings every two weeks to discuss political questions; Section officers should be subordinated to the Section Council. On the question of Section officers the position of Org. Sec. should be eliminated and there should be specific positions, membership, literature etc., but no catch-all office like Org. Sec. Divisions and Sections should be reorganized for greater functional homogeneity and should be larger. Direct relationship between the County and Sections, and he also considered the complete elimination of the Divisions as an in-between form of org. which is unnecessary if the County would establish ties at the Section level. He proposed continuance of industrial clubs in the Sections and proposed an industrial caucus and trade union comrades should be attached to the community.

On the County and State level a complete review of the State for the past 10 years; that the State org. be split in two parts and two separate Party districts established, each with direct contact with New York; that the County Committee be selected by direct representation; that it be composed of 40 or 50 people; a County Board of 11, the majority to be non-full timers; have a County Council with one from each club to hear County reports and policy about every four months. Define each officer, and each individual to be held responsible for fulfillment of his tasks with no lumping together as a collective responsibility.

[redacted] stated the Party is in a period of serious crises; we must examine the Party today. Many are quitting and some gave reasons why: 1. Disillusionment. 2. Subjectivity, why did I

waste the best years of my life only to find out now what STALIN did. 3. There is no hope for any kind of a change in the present CP. 4. Some wanted out for years and now they have a "moral" reason to leave. 5. A vanguard party is not necessary. 6. People who were disillusioned with the CP. 7. Those who proposed organization of a new party of Socialism. 8. A new Party will arrive. 9. Those who fight to preserve the Party as we know it and feel its disappearing. 10. People who can't accept what is being revealed. She said the present officers aren't correct. In the past we were larger and had mass influence. There is no real analysis of the significance of the CP in the U. S. today. You can't make a basic change or new policy because the Party is too small and isolated, therefore, our main orientation should be: 1. To understand U. S. history, its structure, and its culture. 2. Denounce our past. 3. Break with sectarian approach to other Socialistic countries. 4. Establish the position that disagreement is not disloyalty to the Party.

[redacted] He felt the National Committee doesn't give full credit to past achievements of the Party. He pointed out the Party in the U.S. is in a most difficult position because world imperialism is stronger, and therefore, it's easier to understand why the Party here made errors. He defended the WALLACE movement inasmuch as he felt it played substantial role in influencing the TRUMAN Administration on the Negro Question. He was critical of the class composition of the Party because it didn't have a working class composition. He felt we must retain the industrial clubs, retain the national characterization of the Negro Question.

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DOROTHY HEALEY said that some sections of the Party leadership are arriving at finished conclusions. This is an error; that it's impossible to define an economic position at this point, we must weigh both error and achievement. We must spend more time on the collective ideology. Left sectarianism is not an adequate explanation; the tactics didn't fit the period. There was over-estimation of imperialism and under-estimation of the Socialist countries. Therefore, the error was right opportunism. Like on the AFL-CIO merger we over defined the period. WALTER REUTHER up to two years ago was at the opposite pole to the Party. Today his position is better than [redacted] We must support any individual when he is right. We must have an evaluation of our work in the IPF, and the whole period of the IPP would be examined. We must get down to cases on examination of our work in each organization. On the theoretical question the error was to examine it out of context. On the Negro Question we failed to examine it under equal development of capitalism in the U. S. In the instance of development of industrialization in the South it proceeded differently than in the West and North. Negro people are a minority, not a nation, but they could develop into a nation, it's up to the Negro people. On Party org. we never had a monolithic Party or democracy, so how can we discuss it.

[redacted] Our political approach and political line made errors. We made sectarian errors in the unions. Like in Korea, the Stockholm Peace Campaign. The key question is how can we win the worker to a correct line. We must raise issues correctly to gain support. We over-estimate ability to move. We have been trying to fit a size 50 program on a size 36 org. On white chauvinism and Negro nationalism the position hurt as bad as if you fall off the 9th floor instead of the 10th floor. He felt we should be flexible, but was opposed to the caucus in the trade unions because most of the unions have clauses to bar caucuses within the union. He felt we should maintain the trade union clubs, Sections and Divisions.

[redacted] said the timing of the 20th Congress revelations influenced our present very serious discussion. If the 20th Congress hadn't taken place, and if this situation hadn't broken out we would have had a National Committee report which would have been a pleasant report reflecting none of the unrest in the lower bodies of the Party, and no self-criticism or any of the issues which the 20th Congress has forced the leadership to reflect. There were power plays. SCHNEIDERMAN did a disservice to the Party by acting as an arbitrator between GATES and DENNIS. We must insist our leadership answer to the Party. Org. is not a fetish. The big lie has taken hold of our leadership and they are afraid to reorganize the Party and give full opportunity to the comrades to voice their opinions and criticize the leadership.

ALEC [redacted] on [redacted] report. He felt it should be published for full discussion in the clubs. He was critical of our work and said we fail to examine the last two years of work in California. There was failure to comment on what the mass base for Socialism is in the U. S. means. He said the building of a new Party has no effect at all on the economic crises. On [redacted] he endorses his position on democratic centralism. 2. Dissolution of the industrial clubs. He felt we should examine the period since 1952 and particularly the period since 1954 and reorganize the Party on the main tasks of the Party. We must discuss exactly what is our isolation, from what does our isolation stem. We have a long term strategy. Our task is to develop an advanced core.

ROSE CHERNIN said she was shocked at the revelations in the KHRUSHCHEV report, and felt the DENNIS article was weak. The Daily Worker should be examined on its role in opening the right to criticize. She was critical of the National Committee report as it cites errors without crediting contributions on the Negro struggle. No one has stated whether we have a CP in the South, and what role they play in the question. She raised sharply that sometime ago a request was sent to her Division that they have a full discussion on the Negro Question. They went into a thorough analysis using STALIN, and the Colonial Question, the Haywood book, LENIN, and the National Question, and other basic documents and developed an approach which raised the Negro people as a nation against the

Negro people as a minority. Then they were instructed to call it off. The Section sent a sharp letter to the State about turning discussions off and on light a faucet. She asked SCHNEIDERMAN directly why this was stopped. She was opposed to half and half elections and said the leadership should be elected by the membership.

[ ] said the Party is in a difficult period. 1. He foresees a sizeable change in the world in the next period. A. There exists the possibility of preventing war, and therefore, we have a major responsibility to influence the masses to prevent war. B. Achieving Socialism in peaceful means. C. Peaceful co-existence between capitalism and Socialism. D. Obscure world. E. Road to Socialism and transition. On the question of drops from the CP -- over-generalization.

CYRIL BRIGGS said we must not lose our mass work while continuing the discussion. On the National Question we should examine the history of the Negro nation from slave days. Negroes are exercising self democracy in their own way. He was critical of resentment of Negro comrades in the Party today, and he feels the Party is permeated with white chauvinism, however, he feels the California district has a better record generally than most of the Party on this question of the fight against white chauvinism. He used the term "Mr. Charlie" as a term of derision and resentment.

[ ] on the Negro Question said we needed an examination of past policy. On the National Question an evaluation of the rate of industrialization in the South, the development of capitalistic farming and methods in the South. If its true the rate of industrialization in the development of capitalist methods of farming appear developing, on what basis is it to change character. He called for evaluation before a decision. On [ ] report, [ ] is arrogant. He said "you listen to me [ ] I'm D. O. of the Hull Division, and I have been for some time. You have never even come to my Division and mentioned thinking of dissolving the industrial clubs, and keep hands off until you consult us." He is very critical of the National statement. He said what we need is a majority and minority report so we can evaluate the correctness of these positions.

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[ ] said the Party is not through as an org. We can regain the respect we previously had. The primary question is our relation to the working class. Our error was not a question of skipping stages, but failure to analyze processes. He is opposed to the [ ] letter because it would lead to Trotskyites and would have no base.

[ ] said the National leadership seem not able to lead objectively, and are overlooking the advance of world Socialism. Why did [ ] take so long to make a statement? Having made it why did the National leadership take so long to comment on it? Where do we stand



on the working class, on the Negro Question. Extension of the Bill of Rights to the Negroes. The WALLACE movement was a positive contribution. She advocated retention of some of the left centers, orgs. like the Negro Labor Council, CFFB.

JOHN FORRESTER said the Party was incorrect in its method of characterization when WINSTON and PETTUS PERRY were attacked under the Smith Act not one single expression of support was made from the Negro community; there was no alliance to any of the Negro leadership. The Negro people cannot develop fully as a nation because the present ratio of development of the U. S. will make it impossible for a Negro bourgeoisie to emerge, therefore, the Negroes cannot be a nation. The Negro people must be permitted to develop by their own processes, then we'll develop united support for that program. He proposed a meeting of Negro members in Los Angeles County to arrive at a decision and conclusion before the National Convention.

BERNIE \_\_\_\_\_ said there is a crisis in the Party. Org. and structure is second to policy. He took note in a favorable way of GATES statement about the trade unions to exist, and recommended this same program be advanced in other fields of activity where unity could be reached with other honest people.

\_\_\_\_\_ said the National Committee is trying to be both democratic and bureaucratic in content. In the past two years the Party has begun to develop mass ties. On \_\_\_\_\_ she said he raised two questions and presented them as his opinion. SCHNEIDERMAN should raise sharply with the center the fact that he had no authority to raise them. 1. All class unity is leading into world Socialism. 2. The form of development of Negro Marxists. On the question of white chauvinism; essentially white chauvinism must be linked to the Negro struggle. Isolation of the CF as a Party is true, but isolation of CF membership is different and does not exist to the same degree. We have been in a period of humiliation and extravagant goals.

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\_\_\_\_\_ said we have been together too much without pointing out any answers. Many forces are losing ties with the masses. The leadership is overlooking the rank and file thinking. Basically we are a Party of Socialism. On org. he stated it was almost incredible there is almost no ties between the club and the County and this is unhealthy. He raised the question of 20 layers of directives coming to the clubs and the difficulty of carrying these out. Most Party people are workers and must either quit working and starve to death to try to carry out Party assignments or neglect the Party so they can work the next day. We must find a bridge to these decisions.

\_\_\_\_\_ Analysis in: 1. Bolshevik Party had to use force to enforce Bolshevism, and limit these struggles to these aims. It was

objectivity which dictated the action of the 20th Congress in making a major shift in policy and orientation. Early history of the CP in the U.S. was wasted on the CP, Soviet Union and represents an abrogation. Future of the CP. 1. The CP uses political compromises. We must consult the mass for opinion whether to have the CP. 2. The CP has become identified with Hitlerite tactics and dictatorship in the Soviet Union. He said we should study American history, and he is now taking two courses. He will become active in two mass organizations, and much less active in the CP.

[redacted] disagreed with BUD that there is an abrogation with the CP, USSR, and rejects the characterization of Hitlerism. He made the following proposals: 1. Re-define the role of the CP. Our tasks flow from our position fighting for Socialism in the U. S. We must complete a basic study of the departmental org. 2. Democratic centralism. We must break centralism but not democracy. We must depend on no full time operation. We must lead toward Negro trade unions.

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SCHNEIDERMAN on ROSE CHERNIN's statement: The State Board stopped the discussions because it was so instructed by the National Negro Commission. This was taking place all over the country, but it was never explained why it was stopped.

On [redacted] on the question of making the National leadership unavailable after they went to jail, and an end to selection of leadership he said there was a minority opposed to the system of leadership established but the majority group made these decisions based on the imminence of fascism in the U. S. He defended his position in helping to draw up the National compromise on the basis it was not arbitration.

On [redacted] he criticized him for the formulation of Hitlerism in relation to the Soviet Union, and further stated [redacted] position would liquidate the CP.

Discussions will be further held in lower levels. It is felt the leadership at the center has abdicated and is bankrupt, and leadership must come from lower levels.

F B I

Date: 8/20/56

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-28609)  
SUBJECT:   
IS-C

The following information received from this informant must be completely paraphrased so as to protect his identity:

was contacted 8/15/56 by SA BRYAN F. JINNETT, JR., of the Newark Office, and SA  at which time the informant advised that  visited JOHN STEUBEN on 8/11-12/56. On 8/13/56 informant visited with STEUBEN and was told by STEUBEN that SIMON recently concluded a national tour for the CP, district by district, with particular reference to union and labor status within the CP.

told STEUBEN that prior to the 20th Congress, the membership status of the CP as of the last registration (last fall) was as follows: registered members--17,900 members. Of this number the following breakdown was made: 60% of the membership resided in NYC and NY State. Forty per cent of the remaining membership figure, that is, 16%, resided in Calif.

4-BUREAU (1-BU 100-  CP Trade Union Commission)(Encs.2)(RM)  
5-DETROIT (100- )  
    (1-100-  CARL WINTER)(1-100-  CP District 7)  
    (1-100-  CP Trade Union Commission)(Enc.1)  
    (1-100-  CP Membership) (RM)  
4-NEWARK (100- )  
    (1-100-  JOHN STEUBEN)  
    (1-100-4284-D, CP Membership)  
    (1-100-4284-W, CP Trade Union Commission)(Enc.1)(RM)  
1-  (P&C)(7-4)  
1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA)(#19)  
1-NY 100-80638 (CP Membership)(#19)  
1-NY 100-34466  #19)  
1-NY 100-89590 (CP, USA, Strategy in Industry)(#19)  
1-NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)  
1-NY 100-31019 (CP Trade Union Commission)(Attach.1)(#19)  
1-NY 100-80641 (CP Organizational Structure)(#19)  
1-NY 100-26854 (CP, USA, District 7)(12-14)  
1-NY 100-28609

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APH:LSW  
(24) *LSW*  
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*100-80638-1115*

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters*  
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NY 100-28609

The remaining membership, consisting of about 4,000 members, was spread out in districts other than NY and Calif.

With respect to the membership situation in the State of Michigan, [ ] indicated there are 35 auto workers in the CP in the whole State of Michigan. Informant stated that if these figures are correct, he would conclude that there is practically no operating CP in Michigan at this time, in that in the past the Michigan CP was made up almost exclusively of auto workers. [ ] told STEUBEN that the CP in Michigan today was comprised of only a couple of hundred people, mainly from the non-labor and non-union element such as professional men, small-business men, students, etc.

[ ] told STEUBEN he personally would like to step out of the CP at this time but does not want to let the Party down and intends to stay on until the CP convention. After the convention, [ ] stated, he and his wife [ ] will quit CP and, thereafter, it is his intention to return to shop work. [ ] indicated he feels it would be futile to remain in the CP. [ ] stated to STEUBEN he is convinced that the CP is in for a thorough reorganization. [ ] further told STEUBEN he has been unable to convene meetings of people engaged in trade union and labor relations activity. [ ] complained that people in these fields have told him that the CP has no policy and, consequently, it would be a complete waste of time to get together and chat.

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With respect to the internal situation in the CP today, [ ] commented as follows: The big, confused swing going on up to now is commencing to stabilize and the danger of extreme rightward drift of the CP in terms of policy and outlook has now slowed up and a more stable and responsible outlook is beginning to emerge (one which will retain the essential elements of the Marxist-Leninist setup).

Between Labor Day and mid-Sept., 1956, [ ] stated, there will appear a resolution of the national leadership of the CP. This resolution will indicate the future road of the CP.

AIRTEL

NY 100-28609

[ ] does not know if there will be a minority report by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER or anyone else. If there is a minority report, such a report will be immediately published and made available to the CP membership.

Informant furnished to SA HEALY a document he obtained from JOHN STEUBEN, which document was furnished to STEUBEN by [ ] Five Photostats of this document have been prepared for appropriate dissemination as noted. The original document will be returned to the informant for circulation by him among comrades in the NJ area. This document was prepared by CARL WINTER, Detroit functionary, following a meeting held by [ ] and WINTER for the purpose of formulating a national trade union resolution for the coming CP convention. This document is an outline of the proposed subject matter for the draft resolution.

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KELLY

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

9/7/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
NEW YORK DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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Rebulet 6/27/56, requesting that Bureau be furnished by 9/10/56 with number of CP members identified by the NYO as of 9/1/56, broken down geographically.

There follows the requested breakdown:

<u>Geographical Area</u>	<u>CP Members</u>
Resident agencies (#20-9)	178
Bronx (#20-10)	370
Brooklyn (#20-11)	484
Queens (#20-13)	422
Lower Manhattan (#12-14)	213
Mid-Manhattan (#12-15)	236
Upper Manhattan (#12-16)	415
Unavailable	72
Special Section	27
Verification pending	4
TOTAL	2421

2 - BUREAU (RM) (100-3-68) 1 - ASAC D. E. MOORE  
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638) 1 - #12-8

TSM:EMD  
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*4 Photo stats (for inspection)  
2-4-57*

*100-80638-1116*

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-80639

It is realized that this is a decrease of 18 CP members since Bureau letter of 6/27/56. This was undoubtedly caused by deletions from the Security Index occasioned by the Annual Investigative Report Program. Upon bringing a case up to date in connection with this Program, a re-evaluation indicated that the person no longer came within the standards for retention on the Security Index.

This office is intensifying its efforts to identify CP membership in the manner outlined in New York letter of 8/8/56 captioned as above.

The Security Division of this office, which is responsible for the coverage of the CP activities in New York, has of necessity suffered in the past forty-five days inasmuch as Agents of that Division were utilized in connection with the [redacted] investigations. With the release of the manpower from those investigations, an all-out effort will be made to move forward in the Security Informant Program and the Intensified Investigation of Individuals in an effort to identify the CP membership in the area covered by the NYO.

b6  
b7C

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: SEP 13 1956

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (100-4284-D)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

On July 12 and 13, 1956, NK 2056-S\*, a highly confidential source having access to the effects of [redacted] N.J., furnished 634 photographs of documents then in her possession. These photographs are maintained in 100-4284-9Y-9, pages 1 through 634.

[redacted] present [redacted] of the New Jersey CP and an Alternate Member of the National Committee, CP, USA, operated in the underground from 1951 until [redacted] was arrested by Agents of the FBI in New York on 11/1/54. Subsequent to [redacted] arrest [redacted] was one of three members of the National Administrative Committee who ran the affairs of the open CP.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

4 - Bureau (Encl-5) REGISTERED MAIL  
2 - 100-3-30  
2 - 100-3-94

1 - New York	REGISTERED MAIL
1 - Chicago	REGISTERED MAIL
1 - Detroit	REGISTERED MAIL
1 - San Francisco	REGISTERED MAIL
1 - Los Angeles	REGISTERED MAIL
1 - Portland	REGISTERED MAIL
2 - Newark	
1 - [redacted]	

JFB:cg  
(12)

Photostat made  
for 100-26603 (n.Y. State CP)  
By Photo Lab. N. Y. Field Division

100-80638-1117  
J. Waters  
SEP 13 1956  
#19



NK 100-4284-D

Photograph #45 is the membership status of the CP nationally by districts as of 11/1/54, and compared to the years 1952 and 1953. This photograph is set out below in its entirety.

" MEMBERSHIP STATUS Nov. 1, 1954

\*\* Still Possible

Dist.	1952	1953	1954	% '54	*Est. 1954	Min.	Max.	
N.Y.	14010 (14500)	11610	9881	91		250	590	6/54 include Dist. except Upst. & Westch Dues 72%
N.J.	937	850	775	91				Dues 40%
East Pa.	760	832			750			1953: 12% Inc Wkrs. 34% Wh. Col-No Chnge Dues 69% Dues 55%
Md-Wash.	210	215	217	100				6/54 reptd expected to reg. 697-96% 6/54: speak c. pcs sib 518. 9/54: Challer '53 figure
Conn.	360	3 32	20	97				
N.Eng.	625	625	456	73		25	50	
W.Pa.	206	2 19			200			
Ohio	836	725	483	62		100	200	
Mich.	600	4 00	354			50	150	

NK 100-4284-D

Dist.	1952	1953	1954	% '54	*Est. 1954	Min.	Max.
Ill.	1650	1650	1100				
Ind.	100	119			10 0		
Wis.	300	200			200	50	
Minn-Dak.	300				300		
Iowa	35	25			20		
Mo-Okl.	200				200		
Mont.***		30			Est. no less than previous yr.		
Idaho***		20-30			" " " " " "		
Utah***		35			" " " " " "		
Colo.***		60			" " " " " "		
N.Mex.***		30			" " " " " "		
Tex.		89			" " " " " "		
La.		75			" " " " " "		
Ala.		100					
Va.		400					
N.C.		74					
Fla.		74					
Ga.		6					
Miss.		1					
Wash.	536	400 (incomplete)			400	100	
Ore.	90	98			120		
Cal.		3350	3036			100	305
TOTALS	26,000 to 27,000	22,264	16,722		2,890	750	1.595

\*Districts which have not yet reported. Represents our (D.) estimate of possible '54 Regis.

\*\*Districts which have reported, but they consider incomplete. Figure is their estimate of what they expect still to register.

\*\*\*The 1955 report represents a great drop from previous yr. regis. of about 400. Estimate that in South it will be about as last year.

NOTE :

- 1) In 1952: If we add Cal; South; Rocky Mt. area; we had over 26,000 or close to 27,000. Excluding these we had 22,245.

NK 100-4284-D

- 2) In 1953: 22,500 registered since Report figure of 22,264 does not include Minn-Dak.
- 3) In 1954: Thus far 16,722 are reported registered. This does not include W.Pa; E.Pa; Ind; Wis; Minn; Iowa; Mo; R.Mts; Ore; and South. When reports are all in it will show Registration between 19,500 and 20,000. Note should be taken of decline in Ill; Ohio (although report is incomplete); Mich; and Wash.
- 4) While we have sent in some detailed info. on regis. of this Dists. we have gotten in, we will add some additional information. "

Photograph #28 appears to be the work sheet from which photograph #45 was compiled. It is identical to #45 with the following exceptions:

There are no figures listed for Montana, but it bears the notation "Rocky Mt. in Colorado figure". There is also a notation opposite New England on the work sheet as follows:

"12/11 - latest figure  
about 480"

Opposite Cleveland there is a notation "12/11 - Cleveland figure 370". On the work sheet opposite California there is a notation "6/54 Expect 305 more. LA Reg. 1935. Bal. in state. Expect 86 more in LA". Opposite the totals on the work sheet there is the notation "Will register from 19,500 to 20-21".

Photograph #46 is a breakdown of the membership in Illinois, Oregon, and California as to age level and their time in the Party. There is an additional breakdown of the membership in Illinois for union affiliation.

Photograph #49 is entitled "Dues And Recruits, 5 Years (1942 to 1946 INCL.)". This photograph is a chart broken down quarterly for the years 1942 through 1946, showing the number of dues payments in each quarter of each year with a percentage

NK 100-4284-D

figure opposite it. There is a similar breakdown for recruits. This breakdown, for example, indicates the number of recruits for the years 1942 through 1946. It gives the monthly average of those recruited and the number of Party members on the CP's rolls as of January 1 of each year, together with the number registered each year. There is also a column indicating the difference between the number registered and the number on the CP's rolls. There was also a notation indicating that the highest month's recruits were in April, 1943, when 7,123 Party members were registered. It is interesting to note that during 1945 the CP had 75,020 members listed on its rolls and in 1947 it had 74,694 members listed.

Photograph #52 consists of one page of handwritten notes which was found in one of [ ] notebooks bearing the heading "% drop 52-56". Under this were listed the following states and percentages:

b6  
b7c

New York	36%
Illinois	43%
Michigan	50%
Ohio	28%
E. Pennsylvania	34%
New Jersey	20%

It is believed that these notes represent the percentage of the drop in Party membership in the states which were listed for the period 1952-1956.

This information is being sent to those offices which covered the major underground activity during the years 1952 through 1954.

Copies of these photographs are being forwarded to the Bureau for information and in the event the Bureau may wish to send copies to other offices.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-129283) DATE: 9/5/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] was.  
SM--C

Rerep of SA JOHN P. LENIHAN, 6/27/56,  
at Miami, captioned [REDACTED] was.; SM-C.

b6  
b7c

1- Newark (100-35161) [REDACTED]  
1- New York (100-53229) [REDACTED] (#7-2)  
1- New York (100-64181) [REDACTED] (#12-15)  
1- New York (100-85890) [REDACTED] (#12-15)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-39543) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-17924) [REDACTED] (#12-14)  
1- New York (100- ) (Mr. (FNU) DIAMOND, MEMBER OF  
"STREET UNIT" OF HARLEM SECTION CP  
IN 1930's) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) (Mrs. (FNU) DIAMOND, MEMBER OF  
"STREET UNIT" OF HARLEM SECTION CP  
in 1930's) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-46469) (JOE FIELDS) (#20-13)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#20-13)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-11166) (SENDER GARLIN) (#12-8)  
1- New York (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (#19)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) (DANNY HUTNER) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-5)  
1- New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- ) (FNU) KELLER, Instructor, WORKERS  
SCHOOL, September, 1934 or June,  
1935) (#7-6)

COPIES CONT'D ON NEXT PAGE

HPL:ald  
(54)

100-80638-1118

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 6 - 1956	
FBI NEW YORK	

#19

MEMO  
NY 100-129283

COPIES CONT'D

1- New York (100-120144) [redacted] (#20-10)  
;- New York (100-76796) [redacted] (#20-10)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (FNU) [redacted]  
INSTRUCTOR, WORKERS SCHOOL, SUMMER  
OF 1932 or 1933 (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-97067) [redacted] (#12-16)  
1- New York (100-99221) [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100-18056) (JACOB MINDEL) (#7-5)  
1- New York (100-13242) [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (65-7243) [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (UNSUB, wa. Ed Smith) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (CHARLIE (LNU), "in neighborhood  
unit", NYC, 1935 (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (UNSUB: CHINESE STUDENT about  
19 years old attending COLUMBIA  
or NYU) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (UNSUB: CHINESE MALE ABOUT 45 years  
of age) (#7-6)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (CENTRAL DISTRIBUTING AGENCY) (#7-2)  
1- New York (100-7169) (WORKERS SCHOOL) (#7-2)  
1- New York (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (#19)  
1- New York (100-80633) (CP, USA EDUCATION) (#19)  
1- New York (100-80641) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (#19)  
1- New York (100- [redacted] (CP, USA HARLEM SECTION) (#19)  
1- New York (100-81675) (CP, USA PUBLICATIONS AND PAMPHLETS)  
(#19)  
1- New York (100-81338) (CP, USA SECURITY MEASURES) (#19)  
1- New York (100-96985) (CP, USA UNDERGROUND OPERATIONS) (#19)  
1- New York (100-86624) (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#19)  
1- New York (100-80639) (DEJECTED COMMUNIST FILE) (#12-0)  
1- New York (100-81752 Sub 24) (POTENTIAL WITNESS FILE) (#7-5)

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MEMO  
NY 100-129283

On 6/18/56, [ ] furnished SA LENIHAN a signed statement in which she admitted attending CP Workers School held in CP Headquarters Building, NYC, during the school 1932-1933 or 1933-1934. [ ] advised she lost interest in the CP in late 1936 because the CP did not allow individual thought. [ ] further advised she was "taken into" CP in NYC either in the summer of 1933 or 1934; was employed as a full time stenographer in The Workers School from September, 1934 to June, 1935; and in the summer of 1936, she worked for the Central Distributing Agency.

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In the event [ ] should be reinterviewed regarding any of the individuals regarding whom she furnished information, rerep suggests that requests to reinterview her be made by separate communication in the name of the individuals concerning whom [ ] is to be interviewed.

DOCUMENTATION

Source: [ ]  
Reliability: Not determined  
Date of activity: 1932-1936  
Date Received: 6/18/56  
Agent to whom  
furnished: SA JOHN P. LENIHAN  
File Number where  
Located: NY 100-129283-1

Where rerep used more than one spelling of an individual's name, the second spelling is shown in parenthesis.

MEMO  
NY 100-129283

[redacted]  
Worked for JACOB MINDEL in Southeastern United States. Organizer and field representative working for MINDEL in "Alabama or some other Southeastern station". [redacted] about 30 years old, very slight build, weight about 125 pounds, 5 feet 5 inches tall.

[redacted]  
Taught English to foreigners at the Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935.

[redacted]  
Known by the CP alias [redacted] and worked with [redacted] at Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935. Wife of [redacted]

[redacted]  
Circulation manager Central Distributing Agency (CDA) on 15th or 16th Street, NYC, c. 1936. Presumed to be CP member by [redacted] who also presumed CDA set up by CP.

[redacted]  
Assistant to [redacted] at Workers School prior September, 1934.

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MEMO  
NY 100-129238

[redacted]  
Instructor at Workers School September,  
1934 to June, 1935.

[redacted]  
Members of a "street unit in the Harlem  
Section of the CP." [redacted] of above CP unit  
that is loyal Communist Party members who would  
perform the most menial duties, such as selling  
"The Worker" collecting funds and participating in  
picket lines.

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JOE FIELDS

Instructor at Workers School September,  
1934 to June, 1935, believed by [redacted] to have been  
fired for stealing some school funds.

[redacted]  
Deceased. Instructor in Workers School  
September, 1934 to June, 1935.

[redacted]  
Believed to have been member CP; employed  
by Workers School NYC, about 1935. [redacted] of [redacted]

[redacted]  
Believed to have been member CP; [redacted] of  
[redacted] writer for the "Women's Wear Daily"  
paper and taught at Workers School.

MEMO  
NY 100-129238

SENDER GARLIN

Instructor at Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935 and then associated with "New Masses".

SI GERSON

Instructor at Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935 and then active with Young Communist League.

[redacted]

[redacted] of Harlem Section CP, summer of 1933 or 1934 "little and ineffectual".

[redacted]

Member Harlem Section CP, summer 1933 or 1934.

DANNY HUTNER

Met by [redacted] in "neighborhood unit" during her residence at [redacted] NYC, 1935.

[redacted]

In [redacted]'s CP unit in Harlem Section CP in 1936, visited Miami, Florida, about 8 years ago and then employed as "girl Friday" for a Dutch engineering firm. During this visit advised [redacted] she [redacted] had to go to Miami Beach to collect some Communist Party dues that a Miami Beach resident neglected to pay before leaving NYC. Corresponds fairly regularly with [redacted] but never mentions CP knowing [redacted] openly broke with CP. Described by

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MEMO

NY 100-129283

[ ] as a spinster, not a militant devoted CP member, in CP because it "fills a void in her life". [ ] would be very opposed to testifying against [ ] whom she suspects might still be in CP.

[ ]

Instructor, Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935.

[ ]

Instructor, Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935, taught classes in Political Economy believed to have been fired for stealing some of the schools funds.

(FNU) [ ]

Instructor, Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935.

[ ]

Employed as printer and typesetter by "Daily Worker" in NYC as per recent letter to [ ] Presumed to be a Communist due to employment. If still a Communist not dedicated and vigorous and remains only to keep his job secure on "Daily Worker". Brother of [ ]

[ ]

Wife of [ ] Periodically corresponds with [ ]

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MEMO  
NY 100-129283

[redacted]  
Took courses at Workers School 1932  
or 1933. Presumed to have been CP member 1932  
or 1933's. Tried to "indoctrinate" [redacted]

FNU [redacted]

b6  
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Taught Russian at Workers School summer  
1932 or 1933. Believed to be CP member.

[redacted]  
In street unit in Harlem Section CP,  
1936.

[redacted]  
Director, Workers School, September, 1934  
to June, 1935. Would not hire [redacted] as steno at  
Workers School until she was member of CP, there-  
fore, presumed CP member. One of few "humane  
Communist Party leaders". Trained as a dentist  
and believed he died in 1939. Admitted CP status  
to [redacted]

JACOB MINDEL

In charge of National Training School  
Program of CP. Admitted CP status to [redacted]. Had  
number of people serving as mail drops, including  
[redacted] Mail came from foreign countries and states  
where CP was outlawed.

MINDEL'S job to supervise activity of CP  
leaders in United States and possibly South America.  
Issued many directives of CP policy to above leaders.

MEMO

NY 100-129283

Appeared to have clandestine duty in the Party.  
Lived comfortably. Had three children, his only  
boy injured at birth and considered an imbecile.

[REDACTED]

Instructor, Workers School, September,  
1934 to June, 1935. Taught Principles of Communism.

[REDACTED]

Section leader of Harlem Section of the  
CP, summer 1933 or 1934.

[REDACTED]

Member of street unit in Harlem Section  
of CP summer 1933 or 1934. Used CP alias [REDACTED]  
Daughter of [REDACTED] Social Worker employed  
by Jewish Social Worker Agency at time she was in  
CP with [REDACTED].

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ELIAS SHAPIRO

Member of street unit in Harlem Section,  
CP in summer 1933 or 1934. Dentist.

[REDACTED]

Member of street unit in Harlem Section,  
CP in summer 1933 or 1934. Used CP alias of STAFF.  
Was then Biochemist in a NY hospital and was fired  
for instigating or participating in a strike.

MEMO  
NY 100-129283

[redacted]  
Instructor in Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935. Taught classes on Political Economy. Trained as a dentist.

[redacted]  
Member of street unit in Harlem Section, CP, in summer 1933 or 1934. One time a unit leader.

[redacted]  
General manager of Central Distributing Agency NYC, about summer 1936. Presumed to have been CP member. Cooperated closely with CP headquarters.

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[redacted]  
Member of street unit in Harlem Section, CP in summer 1933 or 1934.

UNSUB, wa. ED SMITH

Assistant to [redacted] at Workers School September, 1934 to June, 1935. Believed to have defected from CP and to have gone to Western part of United States.

CHARLIE (LNU)

Met by [redacted] in "neighborhood unit" during her residence at [redacted] NYC, 1935.

MEMO  
NY 100-129283

UNSUB: CHINESE STUDENT ABOUT 19 YEARS OLD  
ATTENDING COLUMBIA OR NYU.

Met by [ ] in "neighborhood unit"  
during her residence at [ ] NYC,  
1935.

UNSUB: CHINESE MALE ABOUT 45 YEARS OF AGE

Met by [ ] in "neighborhood unit"  
during her residence at 225 West 23rd Street,  
NYC, 1935.

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTING AGENCY

Located at 15th or 16th Street, NYC. Dis-  
tributed periodicals that had a "left slant" to  
newstands. Believed set up by CP because of close  
cooperation between [ ]  
CDA and CP Headquarters. Firm lasted "only 3 or 4  
months".

b6  
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WORKERS SCHOOL

35 East 12th Street, NYC.  
Some courses taught 1932 or 1933: Russian  
language Principles of Communism; (1934 to 1935)  
Political Economy. English language,  
[ ] [ ]

[ ] expressed the hope that she  
would not have to testify but added that if testi-  
fying publicly is a test of her loyalty to the  
United States and her break with Communism she  
would testify.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-18820)

DATE: 9/6/56

FROM : SA H. RAWLINS OVERTON

SUBJECT: 46TH A.D. SECTION,  
WESTERN DIVISION,  
LACCP  
IS - C

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b7D

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
--------	----------	----------	-------	----------

<div data-bbox="129 625 354 676" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 138px; height: 24px;"></div> <p>Who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed.</p>	<p>Section wide meeting of 46th A.D. Section, 7/30/56</p>	8/23/56	Writer	<div data-bbox="1193 625 1425 709" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 143px; height: 40px;"></div>
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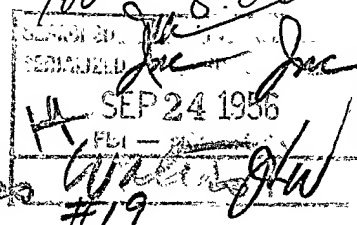
cc: 8 - New York (JOHN GATES) (LILLIAN GATES) (BEN DAVIS) - REGISTERED  
(GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)

(MEMBERSHIP)

2 - San Francisco (ARCHIE BROWN)  - REGISTERED

100-29063  
100-19701  
100-28979  
100-27056  
100-24800  
100-24801  
100-25701  
100-22759  
100-24313  
100-24317  
100-25633  
100-5283  
100-24728  
100-24041  
100-27055  
100-24814  
100-23769  
100-22501  
100-31208  
100-26705

100-NEW (DAVE, LNU)  
100-NEW (AGNES, LNU)  
100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)  
100-31084   
100-42162 (B. DAVIS)  
100-32683 (W. FOSTER)  
100-23965   
100-25191 (A. BROWN)  
100-6861 (L. TODD)



Searched	Indexed
Serialized	Filed
September 6, 1956	
FBI, LOS ANGELES	

Read by HR

HRO:1hm  
(41)



LA 100-18820

[redacted] dictated an oral report to Stenographer [redacted] on 8/7/56 and following its transcription initialed such report on 8/23/56. The stenotype notes of Stenographer [redacted] are filed in [redacted]. The report is as follows:

"August 7, 1956  
Los Angeles, California

"On Monday, July 30, 1956, there was a section-wide meeting of the 46th AD held at the home of [redacted] in Redondo Beach, California. I don't know the exact address. It is roughly the 2400 block near Aviation Boulevard, that is, between 2400 south and a little bit south of Aviation Boulevard. The report at this meeting was given by [redacted] and covered substantially the same material as the meeting which was held on Preston Way on Friday, July 20, 1956. It covered a little more material on the first meeting of the National Committee, but since that meeting was not as far advanced as the second National Committee meeting, he tended to emphasize some of the main points that came out in the second meeting and to skip lightly over the first meeting. He mentioned, however, a couple of new points: 1, that BEN DAVIS spoke rather extensively at the National Committee meeting on the main danger being right opportunism. [redacted] spoke on the question of our evaluation of the imminence of Fascism being a subjective rather than an objective approach. GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY spoke on the relationship and structure of the Party and the constitutional road to Socialism, meaning that we had to change the structure of the Party before it could be adaptable to finding constitutional roads to Socialism. It was pointed out during the course of the meeting that the Party membership in Harlem, New York, which was 1,300 in 1951, had dropped to 91 members in 1956. I thought this was a very interesting figure. [redacted] said that LOUISE TODD, at this conference, pointed out the reason, based apparently on an initial report back from the first National Committee meeting to a meeting in Los Angeles, although [redacted] never said this. As I said before, he covered very little of this first report and emphasized primarily the second report.

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"LOUISE TODD at this conference spoke on the developments in California and the estimate of the National Committee that California represents the most advanced and best Party organization in the country today because it failed to comply with the National Committee decisions for removing the entire leadership from accessibility to the membership, and, second, that it fought for and maintained the PW in as broad a capacity as possible. LILLIAN GATES, the wife of JOHNNY GATES, said that we should stop using the word clubs, that

LA 100-18820

"this is a foreign term and that it comes from LENIN terminology and does not have an American context. [ ] spoke, warning that the Party should not rush into alliances to build a new party until adequate examination and groundwork are laid. FOSTER apparently said we lived with the Smith Act, we can live with the McCarran Act, and on this there was considerable disagreement. [ ] spoke on the Negro people and integration and said that the Negro people have rejected the principle of self-determination. JOHNNY GATES spoke on ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and said that she had been subjected to very unfair treatment by the National Committee and yet in retrospect she had been right on more questions of national policy than had DENNIS and GATES and most of the national leadership and this was attributed to the fact that she had maintained certain mass connections and ties which the other leadership had failed to maintain. That was the report.

"This meeting was chaired by [ ]

The following people were present:

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[ ]  
[ ]  
GERT (last name unknown),  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]

DAVE and AGNES - who are these two youths that everybody is always referring to (they are husband and wife)  
HARRIET (ROTH)  
CLARA (HARRIS)  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]

from the division were [ ]  
and [ ]

who gave the report,

"This was a closed section meeting.

"The meeting adjourned about 11:30 PM, with the agreement that it would be continued on August 10, 1956, at an additional meeting at which I will give the main report on the second National Committee meeting. That meeting will be held at [ ] house, which is [ ] California."

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

September 17, 1956

SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-7448)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
DISTRICTS 21 and 32  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS C

100-806384

*Dist 21*  
*100-30114*  
*Dist 32*  
*100-27485 \**

Re Kansas City let to Bureau 8-22-56 and Enairtel to New York 9-5-56.

The CP in the St. Louis area has been permeated with suspicion and distrust for a number of years. Open CP activity has been limited and only recently has the party begun to recruit new members. The HCUA hearings in St. Louis during June, 1956 caused considerable consternation within party ranks locally and there was much speculation regarding possible "stool pigeons."

                                 acting District Organizer, District 21, has been under suspicion by the national CP leadership per CG 5824-S, although they plan to take no action against him prior to the coming national convention.                                  has been making periodic trips to Kansas City as District Organizer.

b6  
b7C

WILLIAM SENTNER, Missouri State Board member, serves in many respects as actual district leader. His authority has been openly questioned by                                  South Side Area leader in St. Louis and convicted SMITH Act subject.                                  recently questioned SENTNER's alleged assumption of authority and appears to be bringing into the open differences which have existed for many years.

The St. Louis City Committee has openly questioned the authority of the Missouri State Board and has demanded to know why it supercedes them in authority. It has asked how

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-68)(R.M.)
- 1 - Kansas City (100-5222)(R.M.)
- 1 - New York (R.M.)
- 1 - Omaha (R.M.)
- 1 - Chicago (Encl. 1)(R.M.)
- 1 - St. Louis (100-7448)

WAM:MEV  
(7)

*100-80638-1120*  
*Water*  
*J. Waters*  
*9/19*  
*Ku*

SL 100-7443

the board is selected, how it disburses funds, and similar questions.

They have asked for a clearer delineation of authority.

1. It is suggested that since the Midwest coordinator of the CP is in Chicago and since much of the high level intelligence data of the area comes from CG 5824-S, the Chicago office be asked for its opinion of the plan.

2. [ ] has been advised by [ ] he is to be the new Financial Secretary of the district and records are to be turned over to him as soon as they are obtained from an unidentified source. In view of the unsettled condition of the district and since the precise contents of the records are unknown, it is suggested the plan be delayed until the informant receives the records. Thereafter, it could be reconsidered in the light of contents of such records. It should be noted the St. Louis office does not have a list of individuals to whom the suggested questionnaire is to be sent.

3. If the plan is effected, it must be assumed copies of the questionnaire will get into the hands of CP leaders and precipitate an investigation. This in turn will focus attention on the New York post office box. Post Office Inspectors might well launch an investigation regarding the holder of the box and the manner in which it was secured, which would be highly undesirable.

4. Consideration should be given to sending the questionnaire to individuals in other districts so that suspicion is not focused at any one point.

5. The first question in the questionnaire may raise some suspicion because the national offices of the CP must be presumed to know whether or not an individual has been a party member. Hence, it is suggested the question be directed solely toward establishing the time of membership.

ENC. TO CHICAGO:

Kansas City letter to Bureau August 22, 1956.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: SEP 11 1956

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on August 25 1956, that he had received the following information from PHIL BART on that date. It is noted that BART had recently made a trip to the West Coast for the National Office of the CP.

BART stated that the Northwestern CP District presently comprises the states of Washington, Oregon and Nevada. BART stated that BURT NELSON is the District Organizer and that this District has over four hundred CP members.

- 2-Bureau (Registered)
- 3-New York (Registered)
  - 1-100-80641 (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION #19)
  - 1-100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP #19)
  - 1-100-56579 (PHIL BART)
- 3-Portland (Registered)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - 1-100-212 [REDACTED]
- 2-Salt Lake City (Registered)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
- 3-Seattle (Registered)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
  - 1-100- (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP)
  - 1-100- [REDACTED]
- 3-Chicago
  - 1-A)134-46
  - 1-100-1805 (CP, USA - DISTRICT NO. 12)

b6  
b7C

100-80638-1121  
Lg Inc Inc  
Waters gvw

JW- JEK: SVW  
(16)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

FROM : SA JOHN A. HAAG

SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

DATE: 9/26/56

[redacted] former staff writer, NY World Telegram and Sun, advised this date that PHILLIP JAFFE (formerly of Amerasia) told him on 9/24/56, that he recently had a conversation with EARL BROWDER. BROWDER told JAFFE that [redacted] had stated to him that the total membership of the CP, USA, was now down to 5,000.

b6  
b7C

- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] (20-11)  
1 - NY 100-55794 (PHILLIP JAFFE)  
1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA, District 2 Membership)

JAH:cam  
(4)

*cam*

*SR*

100-80638-1122

SEARCHED	<i>Inc Inc</i>
SERIALIZED	<i>Inc Inc</i>
SEP 26 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	
<i>J. Waters</i>	
#19	

SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

9/26/56

SA [REDACTED] (#19)

b6  
b7c

PHIL BART  
IS - C

INFORMANT:

NY 1750-S\*

RELIABILITY:

Who is in a position  
to furnish reliable  
information concerning  
PHILIP and CONSTANCE  
BART

DATE:

8/19/56

In August, 1956, NY 1750-S\* advised that JIM TORMEY was a guest at the BART's residence on this date. The informant advised that PHIL BART indicated that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER has not been wrong on everything. According to the informant, BART contrasted the Democratic Party's Convention with that of the CP. BART indicated that even though the Democratic Party had more difficulties than the CP, the Democratic Party resolved their difficulties at the end of the convention. BART stated that "We have more in common in our party but we don't settle our views amicably." BART also indicated that the CP was losing membership because there was no leadership for mass work. BART stated that the Party had lost a thousand members in NY alone because of a poor transfer system.

According to the informant, BART stated that HAL (SIMON?) yesterday asked him his opinion of GENE (DENNIS?). BART indicated that he did not think GENE (DENNIS?) can unify the Party. JIM TORMEY indicated that he thought GENE (DENNIS?) is very subjective.

- 1 - NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-80536 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (19) *NI*
- 1 - NY 100-26603 (CP, USA DISTRICT NUMBER 2) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-28069 (HAL SIMON) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-15946 (JIM TORMEY) (19)

RAD:exd  
(9)

100-80638-1123

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Waters JH*

19

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26693-C152)

10/1/56

[REDACTED] SA (97-4)

(#20-13)

CP, USA

IS - C

SOURCE:

NY 972-S (Protect by  
2 symbol)

RELIABILITY:

Info has furnished reliable  
information in the past

DATE OF ACTIVITY:

9/17/56

DATE RECEIVED:

9/21/56

RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION:

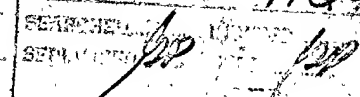
[REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should  
not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is  
paraphrased.

By report dated 9/21/56, informant furnished  
detailed information of a Richmond Hill CP meeting held  
9/17/56.

- 1 - [REDACTED] P & C) (97-4)
- 1 - NY 100-4021 (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-57136 [REDACTED] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-63167 [REDACTED] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-58021 [REDACTED] (#20-13)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("Daily Worker") (97-2)
- 1 - NY 100-74500 (CP FUNDS) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-20633 (CP MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-37301 [REDACTED] (#20-13)

JFH:DMO  
(10)



b6  
b7C  
b7D



COPY

September 21 /1935

A special meeting was held at the home of [redacted] on [redacted] on Monday Sep 17

At this meeting [redacted] reported the deliberations of a section meeting held a few days before. The meeting attended by [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] was advised that there appears to be a considerable amount of divergence in the views of the leaders on a number of important points. While none of leaders were named it appears some favored a dissolution of the party entirely, others a modified form of a political association (such as took place under Browder) and others to reform as a study group. Then the matter of the continuance of Daily Worker was discussed. The burden of supporting the paper with the limited funds now available was becoming increasingly difficult and some decision was imperative.

b6  
b7C

The matter was finally left to the judgement of the upper leadership for the most part. Although [redacted] maintained that she for one had not the same respect for the judgement of the leadership that she had at one time. Not that she questioned the sincerity or doubted that they had made many sacrifices, but she could not overlook their ineptness over the past few years.

As for the Daily Worker, it was agreed that if necessary the paper might be put out as a weekly only.

It was generally agreed that it is now almost impossible to do any recruiting, and appeals for funds were becoming quite disappointing, and the fear of an adverse decision on the appeal from the courts ruling that the party is a foreign agent in real and very harmful.

CV

COPY

att. #1 to 100-80638-1127

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: October 4, 1956

FROM: *JH* Director, FBI (100-3-63)SUBJECT: CP - USA  
FUNDS  
IS - CCP - USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

The Newark Office has advised that a confidential informant reported on September 22, 1956, [redacted] N.J. State CP [redacted] in reporting at a New Jersey county organizers committee meeting, had stated that delegates to the forthcoming CP National Convention were to be elected on the basis of per capita dues payments. He stated that between now and December, 1956, it would be necessary to concentrate on this matter.

b6  
b7c
cc - 2 - Albany  
Albuquerque  
Anchorage  
Atlanta  
Baltimore  
Birmingham  
Boston  
Buffalo  
Butte  
Charlotte  
Chicago  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland  
Dallas  
Denver  
Detroit  
El Paso  
Honolulu  
Houston  
Indianapolis  
Kansas City  
Knoxville  
Little Rock  
Los Angeles  
Louisville  
Memphis

cc - 2 - Miami  
Milwaukee  
Minneapolis  
Mobile  
Newark  
New Haven  
New Orleans  
Norfolk  
Oklahoma City  
Omaha  
Philadelphia  
Phoenix  
Pittsburgh  
Portland  
Richmond  
Saint Louis  
Salt Lake City  
San Antonio  
San Diego  
San Francisco  
San Juan  
Savannah  
Seattle  
Springfield  
Washington Field

100-80638-1125

*J. V. Waters*  
#19

To - SAC, New York  
Re - CP, USA, FUNDS  
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

[ ] further reported that in addition to the collection of dues, there would be a "convention assessment" made in which employed CP members would be assessed \$2.00 and unemployed and housewife members would be assessed 50 cents. The money obtained by New York and New Jersey will be used to help meet the expenses of the convention. These assessments, however, from other parts of the country will be used to defray travel expenses of the delegates to the convention. The assessment levy is to coincide with the year-end registration. Instead of having a new registration, as has been the procedure in past years, the assessment payment and record will allegedly serve as a new registration of CP members.

The above information indicates that the CP is now embarking on a new drive for funds for the National Convention as well as a registration of CP members. It would appear that each district will in the next several months have considerable activity with respect to CP financial operations and membership data. This drive should present each office with an excellent opportunity to develop additional data concerning these matters.

During the next few months each field office should utilize every available investigative technique to attempt to secure more complete data concerning funds activities in its district, as well as to confirm current estimates of CP membership.

DIV. 1  
DIV. 2  
DIV. 3  
DIV. 4  
SEC. 1  
SEC. 2  
SEC. 3  
SEC. 4  
SEC. 5  
SEC. 6  
SEC. 7  
SEC. 8  
SEC. 9  
SEC. 10  
SEC. 11  
SEC. 12  
SEC. 13  
SEC. 14  
SEC. 15  
SEC. 16  
SEC. 17  
SEC. 18  
SEC. 19  
SEC. 20

TELETYPE

OCT. 16, 1956

BUREAU  
WASHINGTON FIELD...URGENT

ENCODE

[REDACTED] WAS, IS-R & PO. RENVLET OCT. FIFTEEN LAST. BUFILE  
ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE NINE SEVEN SIX SIX SIX. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH  
S\* REPORTED TODAY THAT HE MET SUBJECT AT ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN'S OFFICE  
AT FIVE PM ON AUG. FIFTEEN LAST. AS RESULT OF TELEPHONE CONTACT  
EARLIER IN DAY WITH NEEDLEMAN'S OFFICE AND WITH NEEDLEMAN HIMSELF AT  
THE BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL, NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S\* KNEW THAT [REDACTED]  
AND NEEDLEMAN COULD NOT MEET AS PREVIOUSLY ARRANGED. INFORMANT,  
HOWEVER, WAS UNABLE TO CONTACT [REDACTED] DURING THE DAY TO ADVISE LATTER  
OF SITUATION. [REDACTED] WAS DISAPPOINTED NOT TO MEET NEEDLEMAN BUT  
AGREED TO CONTACT LATTER AT FIRST OPPORTUNITY AND INDICATED THAT HE  
PERSONALLY WOULD ARRANGE TO SEE NEEDLEMAN AT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE DATE.  
[REDACTED] SAID HE EXPECTS TO GO TO WASHINGTON "NEXT WEEK END;" THAT HE  
EXPECTS TO RECEIVE A TELEPHONE CALL REQUESTING HIM TO GO THERE. HE  
DID NOT INDICATE HOW HE WOULD TRAVEL. HE STATED HE HAS HAD SEVERAL

- 1 - 100-87211 (CPUSA - Fastionalism)(#19)
- ① - 100-80638 (CPUSA - Membership)(#19)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CPUSA - Line)(#19)
- 1 - 65-14966 (Polish Military Intelligence)
- 1 - 100-21785 [REDACTED](#6)
- 1 - 100-78633 (Isidore Gibbs Needleman)(#6)
- 1 - 100-86601 [REDACTED](#18)
- 1 - 100-17923 (Gates)(#19)
- 1 - 105-13434 (Communist Export Group)(#6)
- 1 - [REDACTED](#6)
- 1 - 105-6061 [REDACTED]

EEL:IM  
(12)

100-80638-1126

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	
J.V. Waters J.V.	

b6  
b7C  
b7D

PAGE TWO

MEETINGS WITH [REDACTED] THAT THE LATTER IS NOT CERTAIN WHEN HE WILL RETURN TO POLAND, THAT [REDACTED] HAD WRITTEN TO POLISH GOVT FOR INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM U.S. BUT AS OF OCT. FOURTEEN LAST HAD RECEIVED NO REPLY, THAT ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE REPLY MAY BE DELAYED BECAUSE OF POLISH CP PLENUM CURRENTLY IN SESSION.

[REDACTED] STATED [REDACTED] DESIRES TO MEET NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S AGAIN, THAT HE HAD GIVEN [REDACTED] ALL INFORMATION REGARDING THE INFORMANT'S BACKGROUND, [REDACTED] WILL ARRANGE THAT HE, [REDACTED] AND INFORMANT HAVE DINNER TOGETHER BEFORE [REDACTED] LEAVES AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEIR MEETING MAY BE ARRANGED FOR SOME NIGHT THIS WEEK. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WILL HAVE A SEPARATE MEETING WITH [REDACTED] WITH WHOM HE DESIRES TO DISCUSS THE SALE TO THE POLES OF CANADIAN TANKERS. WHEN IN THE U.S. PREVIOUSLY [REDACTED] HAD DISCUSSED WITH [REDACTED] ACTING ON [REDACTED] BEHALF, THE CANADIAN TANKER DEAL. [REDACTED] TOOK BACK TO POLAND PHOTOGRAPHS, SPECIFICATIONS, ETC. OF THE SAID TANKERS. (INFORMATION RE TANKER DEAL IS REPORTED IN CASE ENTITLED " COMMUNIST EXPORT GROUP-ISR" BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE DASH THREE EIGHT FOUR SIX NINE). REFERRING TO POLISH PLENUM MENTIONED ABOVE [REDACTED] QUOTED [REDACTED] AS SAYING THAT AT THE SAID PLENUM, GOMULKA, FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE POLISH CP, WOULD BE INVITED TO RETURN TO LEADERSHIP, THAT THE PRO RUSSIAN FACTION IN THE POLISH CP HAD MADE OVERTURES TO GOMULKA BUT THAT HE DECIDED TO SUPPORT

b6  
b7c

PAGE THREE

THE PRO POLISH FACTION. [ ] ALSO QUOTED [ ] AS STATING THAT POLAND WOULD WELCOME A LOAN FROM THE U.S., THAT SUCH A LOAN WOULD MAKE THE POLES MORE INDEPENDENT OF THE RUSSIANS. [ ] ALSO CHARACTERIZED AS A "DISTORTION" [ ] RECENT DISPATCH IN THE "NEW YORK

TIMES" REFLECTING THAT AN ARTICLE IN THE POLISH PRESS BY "BRODSKY" (PH) APPROVED THE MARSHALL PLAN. AS REPORTED BY [ ] THE ARTICLE,

ACCORDING TO [ ] WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MARSHALL PLAN WOULD NOT PLACE POLAND UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE U.S. ACCORDING TO [ ]

[ ] MENTIONED HIS MEETING JOHN GATES, DAILY WORKER EDITOR AND CP FUNCTIONARY. GATES REPORTEDLY TOLD [ ] THAT HE IS FIGHTING TO ELIMINATE MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE CPUSA "BECAUSE TO RETAIN IT IS TO INVITE MORE GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION WHICH THE PARTY CAN'T STAND." GATES SAID THE PARTY IS "TAKING A TERRIFIC BEATING" AND THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP NOW IS ONLY EIGHTEEN THOUSAND. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S\* CONTACTED ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN TODAY AT BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL AND LEARNED THAT THE LATTER'S TROUBLE MAY BE DUE TO LESIONS RESULTING FROM A PREVIOUS OPERATION. NEEDLEMAN ADVISED THE INFORMANT THAT HE WOULD SEE THE SUBJECT WHEN HE GOT OUT. [ ] ADVISED THE INFORMANT THAT THERE ARE TWO INTELLIGENCE GROUPS IN POLAND ONE OF WHICH IS POLISH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OR "INFORMACJA" (PH), (POSSIBLY PERTAINS TO CHIEF DIRECTORATE OF INFORMATION IN THE POLISH MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE - GLOWNY ZARZAD INFORMACJI

b6  
b7c

PAGE FOUR

OR MORE COMMONLY KNOWN AS GZL). [ ] RELATED THAT AT ONE TIME TWO POLISH GENERALS WERE EXECUTED AND THAT THIS HAPPENED BECAUSE "INFORMACIA" WAS THEN UNDER THE CONTROL OF RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE. [ ] SAID THIS SITUATION DOES NOT PREVAIL TODAY AND THAT THE POLES DO NOT EXECUTE THEIR FELLOW POLES. [ ] EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IF THE PRESENT FACTIONAL FIGHT IN POLAND IS NOT RESOLVED, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF A COUP D'ETAT ON THE PART OF BOKOSSOVSKY (HEAD OF POLISH ARMY). WFO WILL BE ADVISED IF SUBJECT TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON, DC AS INDICATED EARLIER. ABOVE FOR INFO.

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32112100000

KELLY

TO: SAC, SAN DIEGO  
FROM: E.J. KIRBY, SA

DATE. October 5, 1956

RE: CP, USA  
IS-C

SA EDWARD J. KIRBY on October 3, 1956 received a written report from [ ] and [ ] who have furnished reliable information in the past. The Informants furnished a written report. They furnished additional information which was reduced to writing and signed by them. The original report is filed as [ ]

The Informants reported there was a joint meeting of the three Orange County CP Clubsheld at the [ ] home on 9/27/56. Those attending were:

[ ]

[ ]

[ ] and [ ] arrived late. Prior to their arrival [ ] pulled out a piece of paper and said that [ ] and his wife are transferred in. He said they can be picked up at any time, but they have to decide what club they want to join. [ ] said he would contact the [ ] and advise them of the transfer.

[ ] chaired the meeting. He introduced [ ] Her main premise was that the CP needed money. She emphasized the member was not in good standing if they are 3 months in arrears in their dues. She said any member 3 months in arrears in his dues cannot vote. [ ] and [ ] spoke up and said [ ] and [ ] had not paid any dues in 3 years. [ ] said to tell the [ ] they must pay up or be dropped from the CP. She said thwys should pay up at least a years dues. She said under no circumstances can they vote unless they pay their dues. She also said she did not want to hear of [ ] voting if he had paid only 3 months back dues.

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b7D

EJK

100-711

[ ]

[ ]

100-10753

100-10677

100-4138

100-4555

100-2507

100-2573

100-6707 Funds

100-6764 Membership

100-7161 Organization

Waters 119 OCT 12 1956

CC Los Angeles RM

100-

100-

100-

100-

CP, USA

Membership

(2) CC New York Registered

100- CP, USA

100- Membership



[redacted] reported she had been back to New York for pre convention meetings. She reported the CP is in precarious condition and that many important people in the CP are dropping out. She urged everyone to sit tight until after the Convention and the CP can be reorganized. She reported the situation in New York is jumbled, but that when the reorganization is effected, the situation will be cleared up.

[redacted] said some of the top leaders feel the CP should join with the Socialists. She said she is opposed to joining the socialists because the CP would lose its identity as Marxist followers. She said it is all right to change your procedures, but not your ideals. She quoted FOSTER as saying the CP would have to take direct action and she feels this is right.

[redacted] reported she had taken six applications for CP transfer back to New York, but had brought back only two transfers. She also said she had brought back all the pre-convention resolutions which were offered at the pre-convention meeting in New York. She said she would report on these resolutions at a membership meeting on October 16, 1956 at Bodenhorn Hall in Bellflower.

b6  
b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: October 15 1956

FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-2050)

SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Chicago letter to Director, 6/29/56, captioned  
"CP, USA ORGANIZATION; IS-C."

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting  
the following information in order to protect the identity of the  
Informant.

Copies:

- 2 - Bureau (Registered)
- 2 - Albany (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 4 - Buffalo (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Strategy in Industry)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, USWA)
- 5 - Chicago (Registered)
  - (1 - 100-18953) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE MACK LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cincinnati (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cleveland (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)

PMH:JLK  
(70)

100-80638-1128

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. V. Waters JWH

#19

DE 100-2050

copies (con't.)

37 - New York (Registered)

(1 - 100-80641) (CP - Organization) (#19)  
(1 - 100-74560) (CP - Fund) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80640) (CP - Negro Question) (#19)  
(1 - 100-81338) (CP - Security Measures) (#19)  
(1 - 100-81675) (CP - Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)  
(1 - 100-79717) (CP - Political Activities) (#19)  
(1 - 100-89691) (CP - Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)  
(1 - 100-86624) (CP - International Relations) (#19)  
(1 - 100-89590) (CP - Strategy in Industry) (#19)  
(1 - 100-80638) (CP - Membership) (#19)  
(1 - 100-26603) (CP - District #2)  
(1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)  
(1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, ILWU)  
(1 - 100-84935) (Cominfil, Railroad Industry)  
(1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, NAACP)  
(1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, International Brotherhood of  
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and  
Helpers of America)  
(1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)  
(1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)  
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)  
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)  
(1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)  
(1 - 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)  
(1 - 100-50983) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-64755) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-28609) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-9573) (NEMMY SPARKS)  
(1 - 100-18065) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-50090) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-66211) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG)  
(1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)  
(1 - 100-54899) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-81752) (CP - Brief)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP - Line)

b6  
b7c

DE 100-2050

Copies (con't.)

- 3 - Philadelphia (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 5 - San Francisco (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, ILWU)
  - (1 - 100- ) (LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)
  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 4 - Detroit
  - (1 - 100-16906) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
  - (1 - 100-13420-Sub-1A)

Above referenced letter contained information concerning the proceedings on June 24, 1956 at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP,USA which was held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City.

Information in referenced letter was furnished by CG 5824-S\*.

CSDE 606-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 28, 1956, that CARL WINTER, a member of the National Committee, CP,USA had in his possession material pertaining to the CP. Contained in this material was a notebook bearing handwritten notes which obviously pertain to meetings of the National Committee of the CP,USA held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22, through 24, 1956, and the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the National Committee, CP,USA on June 26, 1956 in New York City.

DE 100-2050

Inasmuch as the information furnished by CSDE 606-S\* confirms and may in some instances add to the information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, the Detroit Office is furnishing the text of the notes pertaining to the meeting on June 24, 1956, to the appropriate offices.

The notes are written in outline form and abbreviations are used extensively. In most instances the text of the notes is quite clear. However, the Detroit Office is substituting complete words for the abbreviations and where necessary a minimum of words to make the meaning of the notes clear.

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Following is the text of the notes:

Report on Organization by  
[redacted] Organizational  
[redacted] of the New York  
CP District

American conditions have changed favorably in the last six years - but our isolation continues.  
This is the nature of our crisis.

Constant changes in leadership and lack of coordination in shop and industrial work aggravate the situation.

New York Registration:

Lost 2/3 of membership in last 10 years (30% in 1946)  
(19% in 1950)  
(9% in 1956)

Registration 88% - 92% in industry.

1/3 in industry  
30 - 35% attend  
20 - 25% active  
2/3 over 40 years of age  
85% dues in 1955  
62% in 5 months of 1956.

Lost members remain friendly in the main and have found own areas of activity.

Causes of loss in membership:

Left Sectarian policies resulted in shop and union expulsion.

Drops for security.

Negro losses due to Left Sectarianism leading to isolation from Negro masses and their organizations. (White Chauvinism a minor reason).

1/3 of Community members are in mass movements and organizations.

Contributed to campaigns for city transportation;

Negro-White unity; recognition to NAA and Trade Unions;

CD camps; re Isreal.

Industrial members are more active in Trade Union Commissions.

Experience is training new skilled cadres.

The main emphasis in industrial work is not on concentration from the outside, or shop papers, but workers.

Aided by colonization and renewed membership of old timers who remained in industry.

Longshoremen 35; Teamsters 30; Railroad Workers 70; Steel 34.

Resistance of membership due to lack of confidence in policies;

Exaggerated objectives set;

Burdensome financial demands (Fund Drive 50%)

Proposed 16 to 29 district full timers.

3/4 of the Party's funds goes to Administration, the "Daily Worker" and Defense.

After the convention consideration should be given to a national weekly; no "Daily Worker" until made possible to sustain.

Structure:

Leading policy bodies are primarily of full timers  
excluding many who are closest to the masses.  
We should decentralize and emphasize local bodies.  
Industrial policy to be made in lower organizations.

We attempted to transplant "What is to be done"  
on organizational forms and monolithic structure.  
(Monolith is not democratic).  
We need major rule together with the fullest airing  
of differences.  
Live by Party constitution.

Practically speaking the Party is illegal.  
All community clubs in Buffalo are functional  
and members cannot identify themselves as  
Communists.

Upstate, wives of workers fired from jobs were  
expelled from NAA. As a result 75 members in an  
industry had no possible contact despite five  
years of employment.

There is a need to find a legal mass form of  
expression of Socialist nature.  
An independent stand of the CP,USA from the CPSU  
is needed.

Breakdown of Membership:

Total: 16,500      78% dues.

NY 9M	61%
Ill. 9C	44%
Ohio 6	28%
Eastern Pa. 4 1/2	16%
NJ 7 1/3	22%
Calif. 3M	11% (incomplete)

Michigan had 300 members in 1955, and 251 in 1956.  
26% dues have been collected.

DE 100-2050

From 1952 to 1956 the Michigan membership dropped from 600 members.  
(An explanation of the above figures is contained in referenced letter).

Remarks of

b6  
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Nationally: There is a sharp decline in shop and industrial membership.  
The leadership is compelled to work with individuals instead of clubs.  
1/3 hold trade union posts - most of them below shop level.  
Disproportionate Party demands made upon shop membership.  
(This can only move what we have in contacts; not in the "Labor Movement.")  
Ex-members are largely friendly  
(left due to fear; excessive Party standards; legality; and differences).  
Need to develop legal forms for exchange of political opinions.  
Communists trend to work as "progressive" caucuses in trade unions.

Organizational Question:

Should shop form of organization be primary?  
Philadelphia abolished Industrial Division - New York just formed it.  
General role of trade unionists in community civic organizations.

Main Industrial Issues:

Speed up and shop conditions.  
Job security and results of unemployment.  
Forms of wage payment and incentives  
Political action  
Negro rights and association with the NAA



DE 100-2050

Negative Features:

Most locals fail to consider foreign policy questions.

A gap is growing between white and Negro workers.

Remarks of GENE DENNIS on "Daily Worker"  
Article

It was 90% correct, especially the first part, but was inadequate particularly on question of relations between CPs.

Should also have stressed positive contributions of "Daily Worker" in developing discussion.

In capacity of general secretary should have consulted with the Administrative Committee before issuing a criticism of the "Daily Worker" editorials.

On Organizational Question

The future of the "Daily Worker" must be settled.

A new party of socialism is needed; but when conditions mature. We have an important role to play in this development.

Consider at Convention - (three words illegible).

Change Party structure, program, name.

Will help developments to a new Party.

DE 100-2050

Continue concern for security - especially in industry.  
Raise the level of the struggle vs. left sectarianism.  
The struggle vs. dogmatism requires convincing  
membership who change views at various rates.

Remarks of [redacted]  
[redacted]

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The National Committee made progress in this meeting.  
We still need to credit the New York District  
leadership with excellent work in the last four  
years.

The Party is still in a crisis. Not just a critical  
situation.

There has been a 70% loss of Party membership  
since 1945, and an even greater loss among the  
Negroes.

We are still drifting on work policies.

There is a lack of confidence in the leadership.

I doubt that we can overcome bureaucracy.

We borrowed and built into the Party structure  
the structure of Bolshevik bureaucracy.

We need to change type of organization to  
correspond to Party that seeks peaceful  
transition to Socialism.

There should be a change of structure and  
a change of name.

Remarks of WILLIAM  
SCHNEIDERMAN

The problems of organization are general throughout  
the country.

The National Committee must take hand in discussions  
if not to be forced to adopt wrong popular  
conclusions.

DE 100-2050

Membership questions whether the Party, especially leaders, can change.

Question of "military discipline" and seek elaboration of "right of dissent."

California Discussions.

Direct representation to county level.

Delegated bodies to be politically responsible and leaders accountable to them.

Abolish cooptation.

Regular commissions and conferences.

Bill of Rights for membership in Constitution including non-conformity in action.

No expulsions except for acts against the Party and the working class.

Guarantee automatic appeal.

Recall of leaders.

Referendum on major policies.

Restore some features of the 1938 constitution.

Inform the membership of different points of view in the leadership.

Practice frequent review of experience with policies.

Simplify club agendas, to be decided by club, and include Good and Welfare.

Make it obligatory leadership listen to proposals.

Nominations for top leadership to begin during discussion periods - to learn who candidates are and their record.

We should start now with necessary organizational changes to institute democratic practices.

Delegated bodies.

Start discussions in search for leadership.

Inform the Party that constitutional commission wants proposals.

DE 100-2050

Non-Party Views:

Dissolve the Party.

Later help form new Marxist Party.

Question of Trade Union association of pro-socialist workers.

The California District is not for the present dissolution of industrial clubs.

Does this create faction attitude and isolate membership in Trade Unions?

Can they bring socialist ideology to workers?

Professional revolutionary vulgarized equals fulltimer.

Remarks of

b6  
b7C

A crisis exists in the Party.

Bureaucracy has been a fact since Party's inception.

It was built into principles of Party organization.

We should preserve shop and industrial clubs.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

The organization situation corresponds to the political situation and practices.

We must change the Party's organization structure in line with the kind of Socialist Party we envision in the future.

Comments of ED STRONG

We need a more basic analysis.

What is real status of Party organization? Crisis?

What is origin of bureaucracy in the Party?

Can a blueprint answer organizational structure?

DE 100-2050

Remarks of JOHN GATES

The self-critical remarks of GENE DENNIS are beneficial. The CP is not, through; has many assets, but must change character to survive in new conditions. How can we have democracy in the Party when the Party is illegal? We must struggle for democracy in America, but there is a need to start to end our own illegality by organization changes. (Name; structure; delete Marxist-Leninism from constitution; and democratic centralism concept).

Some unionists want a socialist organization of their own.

Role of people like WINDT - BOB T.  
Should canvass possibilities  
interest in work around Labors' Daily.  
We must not end the "Daily Worker" before the convention, if at all, due to danger of present disintegration tendencies.

Remarks of

b6  
b7C

We need an analysis of our role re Trade Unions, especially organization relations.  
(review "resent and reject" CIO res.)  
Shop clubs will continue but need to change content of work to include community.

Political leadership need not be fulltimers.  
(should employ service workers if needed).  
Organizational controls required.  
Decisions should be binding.  
Changes in policy should not be made except by convention.  
Organizations at lower levels should be enabled to initiate proposals.

DE 100-2050

We need to strengthen explanations on National Committee stands.

Exaggeration of war danger.

Concept of peaceful transition and new Party.

Remarks of MAX WEISS

Crisis in the Party means irreconcilable trends.

Example: Crisis re Tito in world movement.

China and other CPs were moving in the same direction as Tito and would continue.

We don't have such a situation in our Party with Left Sectarian trends or any others.

The difference between social democracy and CPs is based on difference between eras of II International and III International.

A new era now requires new type of Party.

Mass Party of Socialism in the United States requires uniting Socialism with the Labor Movement;

Meanwhile, the CP needs to develop its own program.

New developments beyond Marxism-Leninism are necessities on basis of a new era.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS, JR.

The report should have given more attention to the problems of the Negro cadre and membership.

Concluding Remarks of

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b7C

We have been in a crisis for the last five years.

Attempted to break out with the 1952 resolution and 1954 program, and, GENE DENNIS' report vs. left sectarianism.

DE 100-2050

Now, the turn is stimulated by recognition of  
need for independent Marxist Party.  
This is a new feature of the struggle  
vs. Left Sectarianism.

Photographic copies of the above-quoted notes are located in Detroit  
file 100-13420-1B11.

## Report Form

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 08-13-2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 10/19/56	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/1-10/15/56
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH V. WATERS	TYPED BY bhd
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

## SYNOPSIS:

QUARTERLY PERIOD

July 1, 1956 to September 30, 1956

Communist Party (CP), USA, by press release dated 9/23/56 announced scheduling of its 16th National Convention for 2/11 to 14/57 in NY. Meeting of National Committee held 8/23 to 26/56 with Draft Resolution, proposals for National Convention, Platform Committee report on election matters, perspectives for "Daily Worker" and "Daily People's World" and work of National Committee, on agenda. Draft Resolution made public on 9/23/56 for debate prior to convention and expresses pride in CP struggles in past decade but notes heavy losses of CP. Resolution describes CP as not subject to external allegiance or discipline. Aim of Socialism by peaceful and constitutional means is restated; it claims no justification for liquidation of CP and opposition is expressed to its transformation into educational league. Informant advises CP income for first half of 1956 was \$56,031.97 with expenses totaling \$59,551.29; assets as of 6/30/56 were \$8,372.39 with liabilities of \$7,518.27. "Extreme security measures" viewed in Draft Resolution as one of three major mistakes of past decade, with most damaging effect on Party. EUGENE DENNIS at National Committee meeting

## APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

## DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

## COPIES MADE:

- Bureau (100-3) (RM)
- 1 - G-2, 1st Army (RM)
- 1 - ONI, 3rd ND, NYC (RM)
- 1 - OSI, 2nd OSI District, USAF (RM)
- 1 - All Offices (RM)
- 4 - New York (100-4931)

100 - 80638 - 1129 *Jan*

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NY 100-4931

on 8/23/56 cautioned against forgetting problems of security under present conditions, and urged consideration of security under even more severe conditions. 1951 decision to go underground said to have not been majority decision of National Board. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER reported to have not been involved in decision, and has regarded decision as greatest error made by CP in past decade. Informant on 9/6/56 reported that only two basic alignments within CP National leadership now exist; one being headed by FOSTER and other by DENNIS. JOHN GATES and others who went too far to "right" have found it necessary to line up with DENNIS majority to deny FOSTER advantage of contending with two alignments. In Draft Resolution CP sees subsiding of war danger and growth of broad popular movements such as banning of atomic bomb tests; Party claims devotion to working class internationalism and solidarity; it admits to having viewed uncritically developments in USSR and other Socialist countries, claiming belief any criticism would weaken international solidarity and comfort enemies of socialism. On resolution of CP SU explaining development of personality cult, CP USA issued statement in "Daily Worker" ("D W") of 7/29/56, expressing belief certain aspects of violations of Socialist law and principles would receive further study, among them happenings in Jewish sphere. "Pravda" in review of FOSTER book, described him as "noted theoretician" and Marxist historian." Editorial in "D W" of 7/6/56 charged U. S. State Department demand for agreement on Germany before disarmament is "sabotage of discussion let alone of actual disarmament." JOSEPH CLARK, writing in "D W" of 9/26/56, asserts Suez Canal settlement must recognize Egyptian sovereignty over Canal and right of all nations to pass, Israeli complaint of being barred not being allowed to obscure threats to peace created by West. ALBERT E. BLUMBERG at 8/26/56 session of National Committee meeting stated that as result of two major political conventions there were possibilities of gains on issues of peace, civil rights, and economic problems; prospects for labor and people's movement against Nixon; possibilities for fight against GOP-Dixiecrat alliance in Presidential election and in Congress and for labor to assert itself in independent political action. At National Conference on 9/29,30/56,

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BLUMBERG and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stressed importance of mobilizing for election campaign, pointing out that CP, though small, could tip scales in some states and Congressional districts. Policy statement adopted by Conference announced withholding endorsement of any candidate. 6/21/56 letter of CP USA "To All Districts" noted that issue of civil rights was pivotal in the struggle for 1956. Editorial in "D W" of 8/2/56 attacked Smith Act trials, claiming trial of GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, and codefendants was sharp attack on Bill of Rights - the right to think and speak freely. People said to have major responsibility in fight for defense of Bill of Rights. Informant reports announcement at meeting held 7/11/56 that National Committee was setting New Steel Commission with aims of sending more CP members into steel mills to aid recruiting, influencing steel union, inaugurating movement for independent labor party and making those members now in steel a center of base in AFL - CIO. Article in "The Worker", 8/12/56 reports SIMON W. GERSON statement that denial of Veteran's Disability Pension to [redacted] will be appealed. At 8/23/56 session National Committee meeting, MAX WEISS said there should be more serious handling of mistakes on Negro question since there is gulf between Negro and white comrades because of downgrading of Negro cadre. DENNIS remarked future of CP is bound up with working class and Negro people. Speaker at National Board meeting on 9/25/56 announced proposal of liquidation of LYL was to be made at LYL National Council meeting on week-end of 10/6/56, and referred to this as crisis of tactics and leadership. Writing to Republican and Democratic Platform Committees to include matters of special concern to women urged by "The Worker" of 7/29/56. On 8/6/56, [redacted] was reported to have asserted that complete cessation of CP activity on farm front had occurred. Article in "D W" of 8/19/56 notes TV showing of old anti-Nazi films, declaring that these were made in mid-1940's when it was possible to work in Hollywood and have independent opinions. [redacted] "Morning Freiheit" National Manager, at meeting on 7/25/56 admitted execution of many Jewish writers in USSR

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NY 100-4931

but said leaders and writers of every other group were also executed; however, now USSR is engaged in campaign to eliminate any sign of anti-Semitism. "Masses and Mainstream" name changed to "Mainstream" with 9/56 issue was less unwieldy and less puzzling to new readers and subscribers. Draft Resolution calls for financing and solving distribution problems of "The Worker" and "Daily Worker".

- P -

NY 100-4931

MEMBERSHIP  
(Bufile 100-3-68)  
(NYfile 100-80638)

WATERS. This section was prepared by SA JOSEPH V.

No pertinent information has been developed on this subject matter during the period of this report.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

JVW:JEW

-1-

NY 100-4931

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report have been designated for all offices, in accordance with specific Bureau instructions.

LEAD

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report pertinent activities of the CP, USA, for the quarterly period, 10/1/56 to 12/31/56.

REFERENCE Report of SA JOSEPH V. WATERS, 7/20/56, NY.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

- 165 -

10/23/56

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL -- REGISTERED

CHICAGO (100-18952)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S\* on 10/20/56 made available to SA JOHN B. KEATING several dictaphone memo belts, the transcription of which is located in Chicago file A)134-46-2911. The following information is contained in this transcription:

CG 5824-S\* advised that he had learned from PHIL BART, who was in Chicago on an assignment for the National Office of the Communist Party - USA, that a decision has been made that there will be no registration in the CP - USA for the year 1956. BART stated that perhaps in October of 1957 the Party will conduct a registration which will be considered a registration for the years 1956 and 1957.

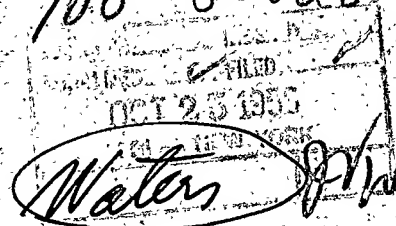
REGISTERED

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#19)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46-2911a)

JEM:kw  
(7)

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100-80638-1130



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

October 25, 1956

SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulet to Cleveland dated September 19, 1956, with copies to New York and Chicago. Referenced letter advised that the Cleveland Office had located 1948 membership application blanks completed in July, 1956.

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on October 22, 1956, that he has not heard of any plan by the Communist Party - USA to use application blanks to record potential or actual membership in the Party, nor has he seen any membership blanks.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S\*) (P & C) (Info) (#6)
- 1 - Cleveland (100- ) (CP - USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

JEK:kw

100-80638-1131

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*Waters*  
*Waters*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)(19) DATE: 10/25/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

On October 8, 1956, [REDACTED] panel source, whose identity should be concealed and who has furnished reliable information in the past, was contacted by SA [REDACTED]. During this contact, [REDACTED] furnished information concerning a meeting held at the Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City on October 5, 1956. This information was reduced to written form by SA [REDACTED] and signed by [REDACTED].

Attached hereto is a copy of this written statement. The original statement signed by [REDACTED] is located as an attachment to [REDACTED].

It is noted that the source also received the following publications. They may be located as follows:

1. Pamphlet entitled: "Draft Resolution for the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA - Adopted September 13, 1956"  
100-80641-1B326

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- 1 - NY 100-50090 (SID STEIN) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-7664 (JOHN T. MC MANUS)
- 1 - NY 100-13480 (JOSEPH STAROBIN)
- 1 - NY 100-51820 (JSSS) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-116907 (SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-80693 (YSL) (7)
- 1 - NY 100-81675 (CP, USA - PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-128968 ("LIBERATION") (7)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA - MEMBERSHIP) (19)
- 1 - [REDACTED]

JDW: jbk  
(13)

100-80638-1132

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NY 100-80641

MEMO

2. October, 1956, issue: "The American Socialist"  
100-116907-1B81
3. 2 copies Fall 1956 catalogs of the Jefferson  
School of Social Science  
100-51820-1A1396
4. Pamphlet entitled: "Life itselfmanship - or How  
to Become a Precisely - Because Man"  
100-81675-1B441
5. Pamphlet entitled: "The Negro People on the March",  
by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS  
100-80640-1B285
6. Sept., 1956 issue, "Liberation"  
100-128968-1A4
7. 10/8/56 issue "Labor Action" featuring "Young  
Socialist Challenge", published by Young  
Socialist League  
100-80693-1B360

C O P Y

On 10/5/56 I attended a meeting held at the Jefferson School of Social Science, NYC. The meeting was in Town Hall on the second floor and commenced at 8:25 p.m. Approximately 200 people were present, and the speakers said it was the smallest crowd they ever had. Approximately five Negroes were present. The topic for discussion was "The Views of the CP's New Draft Resolution."

There were four speakers at the meeting. I did not get the first speaker's name, who also acted as the chairman. The other speakers were JOHN MC MANUS, JOSEPH STAROBIN, and [REDACTED]

MC MANUS spoke and stated in substance that most of the Communist Party is dissolved and there are not many more members. He said there were many different opinions as to what should be done by the Communist Party. [REDACTED] said he had been in the CP for the past 25 years. CP reached its strength in 1936. However, in the past 10 years the CP has been falling apart.

All four speakers spoke on the same topic and expressed the same opinions concerning the draft resolution.

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In connection with the draft resolution they said they, the CP, must put it into politics. That is, to work on the Liberal Party and the Socialist Party and other socialistic organizations. One speaker stated he believed Moscow was having similar trouble as the American CP. He said they have no communications with Moscow. I do not recall the speaker's name.

MC MANUS talked from 8:25 p.m. to 8:50 p.m.

[REDACTED] talked from 8:50 p.m. to 9:15 p.m.

The other speakers spoke about same length of time.

C O P Y

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C O P Y

Each speaker spoke mostly of getting the CP back on its feet. My opinion is that they are trying to reorganize. From the expressions of those people present I came to the conclusion that most of them had been CP members or were interested in being a member.

One speaker said the Communist Party is interested in the treatment of the Negro in the South and also the welfare of the working man.

All speakers spoke on the economic situation in this country as it affects the working man. They, more or less, said a socialistic form of government would benefit America.

No mention was made to the Federal government in any way.

Most everything they spoke on was mentioned in the catalog of the Jeff. School. That is, the courses that are offered by the school.

The meeting broke up at 11:00 p.m. sharp.

I did not recognize any one who was at the meeting.

They spoke of peaceful coexistence and wanted an end to the cold war.

After the meeting, I bought the following literature in the bookshop on the first floor:

- 1- The Draft Resolution for the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, - A Political Affairs Pamphlet
- 1 - The American Socialist
- 2 - Fall 1956 Catalogs - Jefferson School of Social Science

C O P Y

C O P Y

- 1 - Pamphlet titled - "Lifeitselfmanship"
- 1 - The Negro People on the March
- 1 - Magazine - Liberation

Outside of the building I was handed a copy of the newspaper, "Labor Action" on the way in to the meeting.

I have read the above 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  pages and they are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and recollection.

Signed:

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C O P Y

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NOTTON

October 16, 1956

SUBJECT : INFORMATION FURNISHED BY  
SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for the information furnished by informant is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furnished	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	9/26/56	9/29/56	ROBERT C. NOTTON (Written)	[REDACTED]

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"On Wed., Sept. 26, 1956 the writer of this report went to the Toddle House on York Road to meet [REDACTED] for the purpose of holding a Communist Party meeting. [REDACTED] arrived at 1:06 p.m. From there they went to the writer's home.

ccs:

- (4) - New York (100- ) (Regis. Mail)  
11 - Baltimore  
1 - 100-764 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-12464 (ORGANIZATION)  
1 - 100-7567 [REDACTED]  
1 - 100-2429 (FRED FRANKFELD)  
1 - 100-12458 (FRACTIONALISM)  
1 - 100-12456 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
1 - 100-12510 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
1 - 100-13098 (CP LINE)  
1 - 100-12170 (MEMBERSHIP)  
1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MYERS)

1 copy  
Man. by [REDACTED]

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 19 1956	
FBI - BALTIMORE	

RCN:cjg  
(12)

Waters

19  
J. WATERS

Ques

Sec 23

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that on Tuesday, September 25, 1956, that he had been in the city of New York and that he had discussions with some comrades on the draft resolution of the Communist Party. [redacted] explained various phases of the resolution to the writer. [redacted] was in agreement with the basic issues, but not the draft in entirety. [redacted] explained to the writer that certain trends toward decentralization of unlimited leadership should be supported. [redacted] related that in the past too many comrades were willing to accept whatever the party leadership handed down just because it came from the leadership. That many mistakes could have been avoided had the comrades amended the suggestions of the leadership. A DFL related to the writer several cases of comrades who were far sighted enough to see what was happening but were expelled from the Party because of this. [redacted] said that it was our job to see that this could not happen again. [redacted] pointed to [redacted] case, PHIL WALKER's case as examples of individuals being "scarred" because of the wrong policies of the party leadership.

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[redacted] also explained why so much emphasis was being placed on the term "American Communist Party." [redacted] explained that in the past that the Party was patterning its policies on the basis of not only the leadership, but on the basis of what the Soviet Union was doing along with other countries' activities and policies not realizing that what was good for French, Italian, German, Russian and English workers was not applicable to American workers. [redacted] said that what it all boiled down to was the fact that the American Communist party would make its own policies and develop its own tactics and presentations. [redacted] said that this did not mean that the American Communist Party would break its international alliance with European and Asiatic Communist Parties, but that on domestic issues we would operate independently, but on the issue of world Socialism we would continue to be part of the world group.

[redacted] then discussed the recruiting phase of Party activity. [redacted] explained that while the American Communist Party was smaller today and somewhat more isolated than in previous years that our influence could not be underestimated because

[redacted]

today every party member's only aim is to establish Socialism in America. [redacted] stated that when our membership was large and we recruited freely that a lot of party members were recruited on particular interests such as civil rights, veterans' rights, unemployment, hunger, dispossession, price controls, unions, etc., and did not have a clear picture of the all embracing Communist goal of the overpowering of the capitalist system and its subsequent Socialist order. [redacted] said that future recruiting would only be directed to establishing every party member as a true socialist thinker. [redacted] informed the writer that the entire party structure would be modified in order to get our message to the American people in an entirely American way right down to the language that we used. When this was done [redacted] explained that the international aspect of the Party would work out because of the new found maturity and socialist education of the masses. [redacted] then set the date for our next Communist Party meeting for Friday, October 5, 1956 at 100 p.m., the place at the Arundel on Gay and Washington Sts. [redacted] stated that GEORGE MYERS would attend this meeting. The writer paid IRV \$1.30 for two "P.A.'s" and two "Masses and Mainstreams." The writer also gave IRV \$10.00 for dues for the month of June, August and September. The writer was exonerated from July dues because of the steel strike. The writer dropped [redacted] off on the east side of the 29th St. bridge at 3:16 p.m."

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This memorandum has been compared with the original and is found to be accurate in substance.

For the information of the New York office [redacted] (NY file 100-102994) is District [redacted] for CP USA, Dist. #4.

Also for the information of New York, the facts furnished in the foregoing written report appear to bear on National CP Policy in Organization, Membership, Strategy in Industry and International Relations.

*E. J. Thompson*~~CHARGE OUT SLIP - SERIALS~~

FILE

Class.

Case No.

Date

☐

Closed

☐

Pending

Serial No.

Description of Serials

Date  
Charged

1134 - My per Div 11/8/56 Transferred  
 into 100-128817 per SA Waters  
 11/30/56 - mk

Employee \_\_\_\_\_

RECHARGE

Date

To

From

Employee

Location



# ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

As of September 30, 1956

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts:

## MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

Alabama	15	Massachusetts	419	S. Carolina	6
Arizona	25	Michigan	257	S. Dakota	41
Arkansas	0	Minnesota	188	Tennessee	13
California	2,960	Mississippi	0	Texas	70
Colorado	65	Missouri	110	Utah	35
Connecticut	202	Montana	28	Vermont	15
Delaware	14	Nebraska	16	Virginia	25
District of Columbia	156	Nevada	5	Washington	329
Florida	48	New Hampshire	13	W. Virginia	26
Georgia	3	New Jersey	722	Wisconsin	150
Idaho	19	New Mexico	17	Wyoming	0
Illinois	944	New York	8,800		
Indiana	132	N. Carolina	36	<u>Territories</u>	
Iowa	10	N. Dakota	43	Alaska	0
Kansas	5	Ohio	607	Hawaii	12
Kentucky	9	Oklahoma	21	Puerto Rico	37
Louisiana	31	Oregon	80		
Maine	17	Pennsylvania	563		
Maryland	127	Rhode Island	37		
				Total	17,503

## MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

Albany	191	Houston	19	Omaha	26
Albuquerque	17	Indianapolis	132	Philadelphia	443
Anchorage	0	Kansas City	13	Phoenix	25
Atlanta	2	Knoxville	5	Pittsburgh	146
Baltimore	141	Little Rock	0	Portland	80
Birmingham	7	Los Angeles	1,925	Richmond	11
Boston	486	Louisville	9	St. Louis	110
Buffalo	192	Memphis	8	Salt Lake City	40
Butte	47	Miami	48	San Antonio	13
Charlotte	39	Milwaukee	150	San Diego	67
Chicago	907	Minneapolis	272	San Francisco	968
Cincinnati	78	Mobile	8	San Juan	37
Cleveland	529	Newark	722	Savannah	4
Dallas	35	New Haven	202	Seattle	329
Denver	65	New Orleans	31	Springfield	29
Detroit	257	New York	8,432	WFO	156
El Paso	3	Norfolk	14		
Honolulu, T.H.	12	Oklahoma City	INDEXED	Total	17,503

1 cc to  
100-128817 (CP & A-Dist Membership)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 1 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walters 10/1/56 100-80338-1135

# DISTRICTS

<u>Total</u>		<u>States Included in Districts</u>	
District 1	501	Maine	17
		New Hampshire	13
		Massachusetts	419
		Vermont	15
		Rhode Island	37
District 2	8,800	New York	8,800
District 3	457	East. Pennsylvania	443
		Delaware	14
District 4	283	Maryland	127
		Dist. of Columbia	156
District 5	120	West. Pennsylvania	120
District 6	617	Ohio	607
		Kentucky	9
		Four Panhandle	1
		Counties in W. Virginia	
District 7	257	Michigan	257
District 8	1,006	Illinois	936
		Indiana (Lake Co.)	70
District 9	272	Minnesota	188
		N. Dakota	43
		S. Dakota	41
District 10	62	Indiana	62
District 11	60	Oregon	60
District 12	329	Washington	329
		Alaska	0
District 13	3,002	California	2,960
		Arizona	25
		Nevada	5
		Hawaii	12

It is noted that some states are covered by more than one OF District; therefore, a total compilation for the individual states is also being included in this memorandum.

# DISTRICTS (cont.)

District 14	722	New Jersey	722
District 15	202	Connecticut	202
District 18	150	Wisconsin	150
District 19	85	Colorado	65
		New Mexico	17
		Wyoming	0
		El Paso area of Texas	3
District 21	118	Missouri	110
		Illinois	8
District 22	25	West Virginia (less the four "Panhandle" Counties)	25
District 23	67	Texas except El Paso Area	67
District 24	31	Louisiana	31
District 25	48	Florida	48
District 26	25	Virginia	25
District 27	28	Alabama	15
		Mississippi	0
		Tennessee	13
District 28	21	Oklahoma	21
		Arkansas	0
District 29	42	N. Carolina	36
		S. Carolina	6
District 30	47	Montana	28
		Idaho	19
District 31	3	Georgia	3
District 32	31	Nebraska	16
		Iowa	10
		Kansas	5
District 35	35	Utah	35

TERRITORIES

Alaska*	0	0
Hawaii**	12	12
Puerto Rico	<u>37</u>	<u>37</u>
	17,503	17,503

\*This figure is also computed in District 12.  
\*\*This figure is also computed in District 13.

NOTE:

Districts Number 16, 17, 20, 33, and 34  
have been previously reorganized and combined with  
other districts.

# COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

	<u>12/31/55</u>	<u>3/31/56</u>	<u>6/30/56</u>	<u>9/30/56</u>
Albany	183	191	191	191
Albuquerque	21	19	17	17
Anchorage	0	0	0	0
Atlanta	10	7	7	2*
Baltimore	114	114	141	141
Birmingham	7	7	7	7
Boston	550	545	545	486*
Buffalo	206	206	192	192
Butte	71	70	52	47
Charlotte	55	47	47	39
Chicago	1,030	896	910	907
Cincinnati	71	73	79	78
Cleveland	506	506	529	529
Dallas	30	30	35	35
Denver	75	61	65	65
Detroit	160	201	251	257
El Paso	6	6	6	3
Honolulu, T.H.	12	12	12	12
Houston	42	29	25	19
Indianapolis	167	143	132	132
Kansas City	32	15	15	13
Knoxville	5	5	5	5
Little Rock	2	1	0	0
Los Angeles	2,014	1,870	1,837	1,925
Louisville	11	12	10	9
Memphis	6	6	6	8
Miami	48	48	48	48
Milwaukee	260	180	180	150*
Minneapolis	187	265	268	272
Mobile	9	9	8	8
Newark	766	779	731	722
New Haven	246	227	202	202
New Orleans	35	30	31	31
New York	10,626	10,618	8,432	8,432
Norfolk	17	12	12	14
Oklahoma City	21	21	21	21
Omaha	12	19	26	26
Philadelphia	558	521	443	443
Phoenix	25	25	25	25
Pittsburgh	247	247	147	146
Portland	75	80	80	80
Richmond	17	13	13	11
St. Louis	110	110	110	110
Salt Lake City	44	40	38	40
San Antonio	18	15	15	13

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION (cont.)

	<u>12/31/55</u>	<u>3/31/56</u>	<u>6/30/56</u>	<u>9/30/56</u>
San Diego	63	64	68	67
San Francisco	945	958	955	968
San Juan	37	37	37	37
Savannah	4	5	6	4
Seattle	328	328	328	329
Springfield	49	27	29	29
WFO	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>	<u>156</u>
TOTALS	20,289	19,906	17,573	17,503

\*This indicates significant fluctuation in membership.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: October 31, 1956

FROM : *W* Director, FBI (100-3-68)SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party membership as of September 30, 1956, by states and territories, by field divisions and Communist Party districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.*

*This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.*

Enclosures (2)

*1 cc to  
100-128817 (CPUSA - Dist 2 - Membership)*

*100-80638-1136*

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED <i>h</i>
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
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FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>Waters</i>	<i>Burn</i>

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SAC, Cleveland

September 19, 1956

Director, FBI (100-3-68)

✓ COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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SEC. 100

Re Cleveland letter dated September 7, 1956, captioned "Communist Party, USA, District No. 6, Internal Security - C."

For the information of New York and Chicago, this letter, among other things, enclosed two photographs of applications for membership in the Communist Party under the names of [redacted] residing in Cleveland. These cards are dated July 14, 1956.

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b7C

These are the first membership application blanks furnished to the Bureau since the Party abandoned the use of the cards in 1948. A close examination of these cards indicates that they are identical with the type of membership applications used by the Party in 1948. The dues rates contained on the card are the old rates. In addition, there is attached the same type of subscription requests for "The Worker" showing the old address of this publication together with the old subscription rates.

Cleveland, through logical sources, should attempt to discreetly determine if the use of these cards was only an expedient measure or if there is a possibility that the Communist Party has again sanctioned the use of such application blanks. For the information of Cleveland, Bureau files contain no information identifiable with Irene White or Ona Mae Wilson.

New York and Chicago should, during the course of their contact with NY 694-S and CG 5824-S, discreetly ascertain if there is any indication that the Party intends to use application blanks once again to record potential or actual membership in the Party.

✓ 2cc - New York

2cc - Chicago

100-80638-1137

Joe - 788 also  
per 9/21/56

Waters  
Waters  
WV

*[Handwritten signature]*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SAC

DIV. 1

DIV. 2

DIV. 3

DIV. 4

SEC. 1

SEC. 2

SEC. 3

SEC. 4

SEC. 5

SEC. 6

SEC. 7

SEC. 8

SEC. 9

SEC. 10

SEC. 11

SEC. 12

SEC. 13

SEC. 14

SEC. 15

SEC. 16

SEC. 17

SEC. 18

SEC. 19

SEC. 20

TO : SAC, New York (100-80638)

DATE: November 5, 1956

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 MEMBERSHIP  
 NEW YORK DIVISION  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel dated October 19, 1956, captioned  
 "Communist Party, USA, District No. 2, New York Division  
 Internal Security - C."

It is noted that with the exception of Nassau  
 County your office does not possess current information  
 upon which an estimated Communist Party membership could  
 be established for ten counties.

In conjunction with the current intensified  
 investigation being given to Communist Party membership  
 in your area, you are instructed to include in the  
 bimonthly tabulation of Communist Party members identified  
 a breakdown to include the outlying counties and Long  
 Island as well as the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, Kings  
 and Queens. It is equally important to develop the  
 identities of the Communist Party members in the outlying  
 areas as well as those in the city limits. The Bureau  
 will follow you closely to insure that proper attention  
 is being given to this phase of your program.

12-8 will  
 handle  
 JGM  
 12-0

100-80638-1188

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FBI - NEW YORK	

epi

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

FROM : SA CHARLES D. SHORES

SUBJECT: CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C

DATE: 10/9/56

Source: 

Reliability:

Reliable

Location:

Instant memo

advised on 9/27/56, that the Queens County CP is not using application blanks at the present time. The last time blanks of this type were used by the Queens CP was in approximately 1948.

The only "blank" that could be attributed to a CP applicant would be a receipt that the applicant might receive from a membership director upon payment of a \$.50 initiation fee. This receipt is not mandatory and probably most membership directors do not bother to give one to the applicant.

The informant advised there is no mass recruiting in the CP going on and each new member is handled on an individual basis by the club or by the section membership director.

b7D

100-80638-1139

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. V. Waters*

#19

1 - New York   
1 - New York (100-26603-C41) (QUEENS CP)  
1 - New York (100-128817) (MEMBERSHIP)

CDS:MMC/GPL  
(4)

November 19, 1956

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-11037)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

SUBJECT: CP, USA MEMBERSHIP  
IS-C  
CINAI

On 11/18/56 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that according to information learned by the informant on 11/14/56 from [redacted] the latter advised that membership in the CP, USA at the present time is at an "all time low". Informant advised that [redacted] stated that there would be no recruiting in the CP of Conn. until such time as the National Convention of the CP, USA scheduled for February, 1957, has been completed.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] said that the CP was too busy with problems in connection with the Convention to be concerned with recruiting.

[redacted] is publicly known as member of the State Committee of the CP of Connecticut as of February, 1956.

CASPER

3-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (Info.) (RM)  
1-New Haven (100-11037)  
(100-10795)  
(100-16172)

JCH:MB  
(8)  
RM

100-80638-1140

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SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. Waters*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18952)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY-USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 11/6/56

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S\* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on October 29, 1956, that at a meeting of the District Committee of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District on October 28, 1956, EUGENE DENNIS cited the following Communist Party membership figures in round numbers:

National membership is 20,000. In general, 50% of the members are also members of trade unions; however, this percentage is 40% in the New York District. Sixty percent of the members are in some mass organization exclusive of trade unions.

The New York District membership is between 9,500 and 10,000. The California District membership is between 2,900 and 3,000. The New Jersey District membership is 700. The Ohio District membership is between

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Cleveland (100- ) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Detroit (100-16906) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Newark (100- ) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP-USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100- ) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100- ) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (100- ) (CP-USA, Membership) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)

*JEK:kw*  
(12)  
*Photostat copy to*  
*100-128817 (CP-USA-Dist & Membership)*

NOV 8 1956  
*Waters*  
100-80638-114

CG 100-18952

650 and 700. The Eastern Pennsylvania District membership is between 550 and 650. The Michigan District membership is between 300 and 350. The Western Pennsylvania District membership is between 150 and 175.

CG 5824-S\* stated that in his opinion the membership figures for these districts as cited by [redacted] at a National ~~Board~~ meeting are more accurate than the figures given by DENNIS. b6  
b7C  
Committee CG 5824-S\* stated that his opinion is based on the fact that DENNIS was not citing exact figures but round numbers. Furthermore, there could be a political basis for these figures. The national leadership fears the New York District, since it may be able to dominate the National Convention because of its numerical superiority. Because of this, there may be some juggling of membership figures in an effort to reduce the representation of the New York District at the National Convention to less than 50% of the total representation.

CG 5824-S also commented that it is probable that representation at the National Convention will be based on membership figures determined by dividing the number of dues payments in 1956 by twelve. Through the device of having members make payments of dues in advance, a District would be able to increase its representation. Therefore, membership figures based on dues payments will not give an accurate picture of the membership in a District. Accurate membership figures can be obtained only when the Communist Party conducts an actual registration.

DIVISION 4

APR 8 3 34 PM '52

11/8/56

AIRTEL

REGULAR - REGISTERED

SAC  
DIV. 1  
DIV. 2  
DIV. 3  
DIV. 4  
SEC. 1  
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SEC. 10  
SEC. 11  
SEC. 12  
SEC. 13  
SEC. 14  
SEC. 15

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12170)  
SUBJECT : CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C  
CINAL

On 11/1/56 [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] who identified himself as a member of the top leadership of the CP in New York, stated on 10/29/56 that the CP leadership in New York is looking up all CP members who left the Party, regardless of reason, to ask them to return to the CP. [redacted] stated that some were expelled or quit the Party because of policy reasons or personal difficulties, and that it is often hard to get them to return because they have acquired families, jobs, and a new way of life.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ENCL

END

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)  
2 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)  
(100- [redacted] CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)  
(100- [redacted] GEORGE HARRIS)  
3 - Baltimore (100-12170)  
(100-19876 CINAL)

DEL:cm  
(8)

Photostat copy to  
100-128817 (CP USA - Dist 2 Membership)

AIR-TEL \_\_\_\_\_  
VIA AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
AMSD \_\_\_\_\_  
REGULAR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
REGISTERED MAIL \_\_\_\_\_

100-80638-1142

Waters Gurm

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(#20-10)  
FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#7-4) DATE: 11/20/56  
SUBJECT : CP, USA BRONX COUNTY  
IS-C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source [REDACTED]  
(protect by T symbol)  
Reliability Who has furnished  
reliable information  
in the past.  
Date of Activity 10/2/56  
Date Received 10/15/56  
Received by SA [REDACTED]  
Location [REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

By report dated 10/9/56, informant furnished detailed information concerning a meeting of the north-west section of CP, Bronx, NY, held 10/2/56, at 85 Strong St., Bronx, NY.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C320 (CP, KINGSBRIDGE SECTION)(#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-129186 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-128832 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-128314 sub C (CP FUNDS)(#12-8)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER)(#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE)(#12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-79717 (CP POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)(#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-80638 (CP MEMBERSHIP)(#19)

JPH:RCM  
11

NOV 21 1956  
J. Waters JPH

#19

100-80638-1143

Memo  
NY 100-26603-C40

The resolution referred to in  
the report submitted by [ ] is being placed  
in 1A serial of 100-26603-C320.

b7D



Report

Communist Party U.S.A.  
Activities

Oct. 9, 1956  
New York.

A meeting of the Communist party club of the north-west Bronx Section was held on October 2nd, 1956 at 85 Strong St., Bronx, N.Y. at the apart. of [redacted] (45A).

Present at the meeting were: [redacted]

[redacted] chaired the meeting.

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The first question on the agenda was "aid to the Daily Worker."

[redacted] explained the "struggle of the Daily to continue its publication." She told the meeting that "most of the funds of last years fund drive of the party (C.P.) went to the Daily Worker. The money now being collected from the comrades the instalement payments on last years fund drive (a 10-month instalment plan which was adopted by the north-west section of the Bronx Communist party) goes entirely to the Daily Worker."

[redacted] said that "we must do everything possible to raise funds for the Daily Worker." She asked those present at this meeting to advance money "against collections we will make from our friends." For this purpose [redacted] donated \$10.00, [redacted] \$10.00, [redacted] \$7.00 and [redacted] \$12.00. There was a short discussion on the election campaign.

[redacted] complained that she does not know what to do in this election campaign; that up till now there were no instructions from the party on "how and for whom to vote."

[redacted] told the meeting that the section didn't receive instructions on the election. "The only thing that we know is that we got to work for the defeat of the Eisenhower cadilac government."

2007/10/11-80038-1143

[ ] told the meeting that there was a national CP leadership meeting on the elections at the end of September and "I was told that the party (C.P.) took a 'neutral stand' on the present national election campaign, but the party wants to see the defeat of the present administration. It seems to me a kind of double talk. If the party is out to defeat the Eisenhower administration the party has to work for the election of the Democrats. How can a party that is neutral talk about or advise voters to defeat the present administration in Washington? You do or you don't, but if you are 'neutral' you just keep quite. It seemed to me, and I expressed this opinion to some party leaders downtown and they agreed with me, that our national (C.P.) leadership lost it's sense of orientation since the Khrushchev de-stalinization of the Communist parties. Rose is right claiming that she doesn't know what to do. [ ] is a section leader does she know what to do in this election campaign? I know that she doesn't know either. It seems that we hit a blank wall and this is definitely the fault of the leadership of the party."

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The members agreed with [ ]. The "recommendation" on this point was that each one of the club members should work "as individuals through democrat party organizations, wherever possible, for the election of the Democrat party's national ticket."

[ ] raised the question of "bad attendance of meetings by club members."

[ ] proposed to visit every club member and explain the importance of attending club meetings.

[ ] explained that at the best attended meeting there never was more than 7-8 members. "I think that our club members do not attend our meetings because they are being bored at the meetings-they don't get what they want." [ ] proposed the reorganization of this club. He said that the section committee should make of 2 clubs one club; that larger club meetings will draw a larger attendance of club members.

[ ] said that she likes this proposal and that she will take this question up at the first meeting of the section committee. She also underlined that it is important to draw in new members into the party. She said that the question of recruiting new members was discussed by the section committee and that she took up this question with the county (Bronx County C.P.), and that the county told her:

"Recruiting of new members for the party is desirable. That recruiting should be done on an individual basis-not as an all-party recruiting campaign-preferable in the heavy, basic industries, in the factories and shops and in the neighborhoods. Also to concentrate on getting back old party members who for one reason or another left the party."

[ ] suggested that everyone should try to recruit a new member and that the section committee will try to make up a list of old former party members which will be visited by members of the section in the different neighborhoods.

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[ ] submitted the enclosed "resolution" for adoption by the club. After she read it Al suggested to give copies of this resolution to each member for the purpose of studying it and to discuss it at the next meeting of the club.

The meeting approved this suggestion. It was decided to hold the next meeting of the club at [ ] apartment on October 16th, 1956.



SAC [REDACTED]

11/29/55

SA ROBERT C. NORTON

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY  
SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	10/29/55	11/19/55	ROBERT C. NORTON (written)	[REDACTED]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED.

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, MD.  
Nov. 18, 1955

"On Oct. 29, 1955 I attended a Communist Party meeting held at [REDACTED] home, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for the Communist Party Waterfront Section.

"At this meeting [REDACTED] Communist Party Functionary from New York, attended. [REDACTED] said that the Communist Party at present are now looking up all old Communist Party members who for one reason or another had quit the

cc:

④ - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

100-

100-

100-

100-

100-

WATERFRONT

DETACHED CP MEMBERS

NEW YORK

5 - Baltimore

100-12537

100-12498

100-14569

100-12170

FACIOMALISM

DETACHING

MEMBERSHIP

RCN:cm  
(9)

100-8638 1/4  
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[redacted]

"Party such as personal difference, not fully in agreement with Communist Party policy, or even those who have been expelled from the Communist Party in the past.

[redacted] said in most cases it is a pretty tough job in getting most of these people back into the Communist Party especially those who now have jobs ashore, having to adjust themselves to shore-side living and are pretty well settled down. He said that is why the Communist Party does not want to lose any of its old CP membership at present.

This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

DEC 4 1953  
DIVISION 4

DIVISION 4  
DEC 4 8 50 AM '53

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

\*\*\*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, Minneapolis (100-1878)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
District 9  
IS - C  
(Minneapolis Division)

DATE: December 5, 1956

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available the following information to SA [redacted] on December 3, 1956. Agent's notes taken during course of this contact are maintained permanently in Minneapolis file [redacted]

Informant learned on December 3, 1956, from [redacted] and [redacted] Chairman and [redacted] respectively of the Minnesota CP District, that the leadership in this CP area is taking definite and affirmative steps in attempting to obtain the maximum possible number of delegates this district will send to the National CP Convention, scheduled for February 2-12, 1957, in New York City.

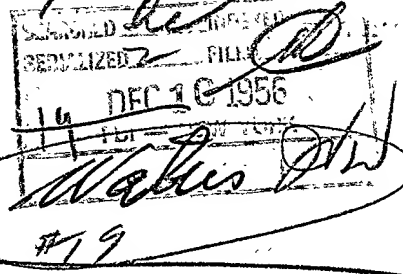
b6  
b7C  
b7D

Informant advised that representation to the National Convention will be based upon the strength of current paid-up membership in each respective CP District as of January 1, 1957. To achieve the highest possible membership the leadership in this District has issued to certain Party members, CP dues membership kits with lists of names and addresses of persons who are to be contacted by January 1, 1957, for their 1956 CP membership dues. Informant advised the CP dues membership kits include: receipt books, score cards, envelopes, notebook, dues schedules and detailed instructions relative to CP dues collections.

Informant advised that the number of delegates to the National CP Convention from each CP District will be based on the following:

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
  - (1 - 100-3-68) (Membership)
  - (1 - 100-3-63) (Funds)
- 3 - New York (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Funds)
- 6 - Minneapolis
  - (1 - 100-1878-V) (Membership)
  - (1 - 100-1878-F) (Funds)
  - (1 - 100-367) [redacted]
  - (1 - 100-6379) [redacted]

MJF:sss  
(13)



MP #100-1878

- (a) 2 delegates for first 50 CP members or less.
- (b) 3 delegates for first 100 members.
- (c) 3 delegates for each additional 100 CP members up to 600.
- (d) 2 delegates for each additional 100 members above 600.

Informant advised the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the CP has scheduled a Convention to be held in Minneapolis on January 27, 1957, which will be a pre-National Convention District gathering for the purpose of selection of delegates.

Informant has also advised that in conjunction with collection of 1956 CP dues, the Party has been obtaining a special assessment of various amounts from its members earmarked for the National Convention.

Informant advised he has related all information in his possession since previous contacted.

ACTION:

Disseminate copies of this letter to file number appearing on front page.



O F F I C E   M E M O R A N D U M \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 11-29-56

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Re New York airtel dated November 18, 1956, captioned, "COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, ORGANIZATION. CINAL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C."

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED) (Encl. 1)
- 2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (MICHAEL RUSSO)
- 2 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-17257) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (HYMAN LUMER)
- 2 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-2050) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-26044) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 1 - Newark (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (Info)  
(REGISTERED)
- 28 - New York (REGISTERED) (Encl. 1)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81752) (CP - USA, Brief) (#7-2)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81675) (CP - USA, Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - USA, Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89590) (CP - USA, Strategy In Industry) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80640) (CP - USA, Negro Question) (#19)

See 1a page for additional copies.

100-80638 1146

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CG 100-18953

- (1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
- (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)
- (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.) (#19)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- (1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-87561) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
- (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- (1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT)
- (1 - 100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
- (1 - 100-13473) (SIMON W. GERSON)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
- (1 - 100-50983) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-28609) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-9573) (NEMMY SPARKS) (#19)
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- (1 - 100-21039) (SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-18673) [REDACTED] (#19)
- (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- (1 - 100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (#19)
- 2 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100- ) (CP - USA, Organization) (Info) (REGISTERED)
- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)
  - (1 - 97-26) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 6 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-2748) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)

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b7c

*JEK*  
JEK:kw  
(51)

CG 100-18953

Referenced New York airtel contained information furnished by CG 5824-S\* on November 18, 1956, to SA JOHN E. KEATING, concerning the fifth and last day of sessions of the enlarged meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA, which was held in the Jefferson School of Social Science building, New York City, from November 13 through 17, 1956. The purpose of this letter is to disseminate information contained in referenced airtel. Because of the length of this five-day meeting, the informant's reports deal only with the more significant aspects of this meeting. b6 b7C

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following persons were in attendance at the sessions of November 17, 1956:

AL BLUMBERG  
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY  
MORRIS CHILDS  
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.  
EUGENE DENNIS

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
FRED FINE  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
BETTY GANNETT  
JOHN GATES  
SIMON W. GERSON  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
JAMES JACKSON

[REDACTED]  
LOUISE TODD LAMBERT  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
HYMAN LUMER

[REDACTED]  
MICHAEL RUSSO  
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[REDACTED]  
NEMMY SPARKS  
JACK STACHEL  
SID STEIN  
MAX WEISS  
CARL WINTER  
ISADORE WOFSY

CG 5824-S\* advised that [REDACTED] took notes during the meeting and ISADORE WOFSY acted as the security officer during the meeting. Informant also advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and MICHAEL RUSSO left before the meeting was adjourned.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were present for only a few minutes in the late afternoon. [REDACTED] was the Chairman for the entire day.

Continuation of the Discussion  
on the Draft Constitution

CG 5824-S\* advised that the morning session began with

CG 100-18953

a continuation of the discussion on the draft Constitution. The draft Constitution was adopted in general. There will be some changes made in the wording. It was decided to strike out any reference to the keeping of minutes of meetings so that no official record of meetings will be available. Instead of referring to minutes of National Committee meetings, the draft Constitution will refer to summaries of and reports on National Committee meetings so that it cannot be said that there are any official minutes in existence.

Article VIII will be amended to state that any person who advocates the use of force and violence will be expelled from the Party.

As an appendix to Article X there will be a list of books, articles and magazines, which have been used in trials and hearings against the Communist Party and Party members. The Constitution will state that the Communist Party does not assume responsibility for the contents of any item in this list. In other words, the Constitution will state that the Communist Party disowns these publications.

CG 5824-S\* advised that there was another debate on whether or not the term "Marxism-Leninism" should be included in the Preamble. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER made his usual motions in favor of the inclusion of this term. There was the usual lineup against him and the informant believes that the term "Marxism-Leninism" will not appear in the Preamble of the new Constitution. There was also a debate on the fact that democratic centralism as such does not appear in the Constitution. FOSTER wanted to have this term and an explanation of it in the Constitution; however, the informant believes that the Constitution will not be altered materially in this respect.

The last paragraph in Section 8 of Article V was deleted. This paragraph appeared in the old Constitution, and it was felt that the wording was too strong in giving blanket authority to the National Committee.

Members of the National Committee will be elected in two different ways. Approximately 75% of the National Committee will consist of persons who have been nominated by their Districts. The remainder will be members-at-large. All members of the National Committee will be elected at the National Convention. There will probably be some figure set on the number of Party

CG 100-18953

members a District must have before it can have a member on the National Committee, even though some objected that it would be undemocratic if each state did not have a representative on the National Committee. It is presently planned to have fifty or sixty members on the National Committee so that approximately fifteen or sixteen of this total could be members-at-large. The exact number will be set at the National Convention.

During this phase of the discussion, FRED FINE cited the following figures:

There are nine state organizations having under fifty members; there is one state organization with between fifty and one hundred members; there are seven state organizations with between one hundred and three hundred members; there are three state organizations with between three hundred to five hundred members; there are four state organizations with between five hundred and one thousand members; there are two state organizations with over one thousand members.

The term "Party functionary" will no longer be used and in its place the term "full time person" will be used. The number of these persons will be kept at an absolute minimum.

JOHN GATES made a motion to delete Article I from the Draft Constitution but this motion was voted down.

It was decided to attempt to introduce more democratic processes, but with an escape clause to prevent factions or cliques from removing officers. A three-fourths majority will be needed to remove members of any committee -- state, district or national.

Debate on Motions Proposed by  
FRED FINE on November 16, 1956

It will be recalled that on November 16, 1956, FRED FINE had made three motions based on his report which introduced the discussion on the draft Constitution. These motions dealt with the possibility of changing the name and form of the Communist Party, conducting surveys among "left wing" trade unionists and "left wing" elements in other mass organizations to determine their reaction to a possible change of name and form of the Communist Party. A proposal by MORRIS CHILDS postponing the discussion on FINE's motions was adopted on November 16, 1956.

CG 100-18953

These motions were discussed on November 17, 1956. There was a big debate and all of the motions were tabled until the next National Committee meeting. The supporters of the viewpoint of JOHN GATES also supported FRED FINE's motions. EUGENE DENNIS and representatives of Districts outside of New York were opposed to FINE's motions.

During this discussion EUGENE DENNIS went to the blackboard. He stated that while he is in favor of the theme of the Draft Resolution with regard to the organizational form, he would not be opposed to a survey of "left wingers" in the trade unions and the mass organizations to ascertain their views about a change in the name and form of the Communist Party. DENNIS stated that if it was determined that some of them would join an organization similar to the Communist Party but with a different name and a different form, then the Communist Party should consider taking one hundred or one thousand of its members and have them form an independent Socialist league as a basis for a broad organization to which the Communist Party might affiliate at some future date.

#### Statement on the Hungarian Situation

CG 5824-S\* advised that most of the rest of the meeting dealt with the second revised statement on the Hungarian situation. The committee of five which had been selected to revise the first draft statement worked until 5:00 A.M. on November 17, 1956, on the second revision. One photostatic copy of the second revision is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and New York Office. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-18961-1B (76).

Another big debate developed. FOSTER said that he was against the statement because it was not neutral on the use of Soviet troops in Hungary and, in fact, really endorses the attack against the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. DENNIS echoed the statements of FOSTER. DENNIS wanted the statement to say unconditionally that Soviet troops had to be used because there was a clear and present danger of fascism in Hungary and the imperialists would use Hungary as a military outpost. BEN DAVIS, JR., said that the statement is weighted against the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. He said that there was a tragic necessity for the use of Soviet troops in Hungary.

A majority of those present were in favor of having the statement contain stronger criticism of the National Committee statement and the "Daily Worker" editorial on the Hungarian

CG 100-18953

situation which appeared in the November 5, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker".

CG 5824-S\* advised that the sharpness of the debate discouraged the five man committee which had twice revised the statement. They were in favor of having the National Committee say something on the Hungarian situation without tearing the Communist Party apart. On the other hand, most of those taking a pro-Soviet position were willing to make some concessions and even GATES was ready to accept some criticism for the "Daily Worker" editorial just to get a statement of some kind approved by the National Committee.

After practically everyone had talked themselves out on proposed changes of phrases here and there, FOSTER said to heck with the statement and gave his own statement to JOHN GATES for publication and then left the meeting. DENNIS wanted to completely justify the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. DAVIS, on the other hand, stated that while he did not completely agree with the statement, he thought that the National Committee should issue a statement so he would be willing to vote in favor of it.

A vote was taken and twenty-five persons voted for the general contents of the statement with the provision that it will be edited by the committee of five, will be released on Monday, November 19, 1956, for publication on Tuesday, November 20, 1956. FOSTER had left the meeting before the vote was taken and DENNIS abstained from voting. He said that he would not vote until he saw the edited version on November 20, 1956. He was asked when he was going to vote for something without qualifications and without waiting three or four days to see the reaction on a decision.

CG 5824-S\* commented that in a private discussion, [redacted] and MAX WEISS concluded that EUGENE DENNIS knows the temper of the membership and since he is uniting with FOSTER, he believes that the majority of the membership will support his position and that of FOSTER on the Hungarian situation.

JOHN GATES asked those present what he should do with FOSTER's statement, which fully endorses the use of Soviet troops in Hungary. It was decided that it should be published the day after the National Committee statement is published.

CG 100-18953

Motions

CG 5824-S\* advised that a formal motion was passed setting the dates of December 17 through 20, 1956, for the next National Committee meeting.

A motion was also passed authorizing a statement opposing the suppression of the Communist Party of Argentina.

BEN DAVIS, JR., and AL BLUMBERG were given the task of preparing a statement condemning the Democratic Party for punishing Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL for supporting President EISENHOWER in the election.

With the passing of these motions, this meeting of the National Committee adjourned.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York ✓

DATE: December 12, 1956

FROM: *[Signature]* Director, FBI (100-3-68)SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Circumstances require that the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), membership figures for the quarterly period ending December 31, 1956, ordinarily due at the Bureau no later than January 20, 1957, be tabulated and furnished to reach the Bureau as soon after December 31, 1956, as possible and at least no later than January 7, 1957. data should be sent by airtel under caption of this letter.

2cc - Albany  
Albuquerque  
Anchorage  
Atlanta  
Baltimore  
Birmingham  
Boston  
Buffalo  
Butte  
Charlotte  
Chicago  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland  
Dallas  
Denver  
Detroit  
El Paso  
Honolulu  
Houston  
Indianapolis  
Kansas City  
Knoxville  
Little Rock  
Los Angeles  
Louisville  
Memphis

2cc - Miami  
Milwaukee  
Minneapolis  
Mobile  
Newark  
New Haven  
New Orleans  
Norfolk  
Oklahoma City  
Omaha  
Philadelphia  
Phoenix  
Pittsburgh  
Portland  
Richmond  
St. Louis  
Salt Lake City  
San Antonio  
San Diego  
San Francisco  
San Juan  
Savannah  
Seattle  
Springfield  
Washington Field

100-80638-114

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 13 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

cc  
100-128817  
(CP USA - Part 2 - membership)



Letter to SAC, New York  
Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
100-3-68

Those offices which ordinarily include in their quarterly reports membership figures furnished by auxiliary offices must be given this data as expeditiously as possible in order that the Bureau deadline can be met. The airtel should contain the data usually incorporated under the membership caption in the quarterly report as well as explanations for any significant fluctuation in membership, where pertinent.

This does not change in any way the membership data to be contained in the quarterly CP, USA, reports for the period ending December 31, 1956. The airtel should be a more succinct duplication of the membership data that will be incorporated in the quarterly reports. It is extremely important that the figures contained in the airtels agree completely with those in the quarterly reports.

This additional requirement is for this quarterly period only and will not be required for subsequent periods unless advised by the Bureau.

12/13/56

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA MEMBERSHIP  
IS - C

On 12/10/56, NY 1743-S\*, having access to the records maintained by the National Office of the CP, USA, provided a copy of handwritten notes which appear to be a computation of the number of delegates to which each CP district will be entitled to send to the National Convention scheduled for February 9th to 12th, 1957, in NYC. *(copy attached to this memo)*

An examination of these notes discloses a membership figure for each of 25 districts, together with the number of delegates for each. The computation of the number of delegates coincides with the instructions contained in the "Call to 16th National Convention Communist Party, USA" permitting election of a. 2 delegates where the total membership is 50 or less; b. 3 delegates for the first 100 members and 3 for each additional 100 members up to 600; and c. 2 delegates for each additional 100 members above 600.

The membership figure is described as "Last reg."

The data follow:

<u>District</u>	<u>Last registration</u>
New York	9000

Delegates

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-68) (Encs. 1) (RM)  
1 - All Offices (RM)  
1 - NY 100-128817 (CP, USA - District 2 - Membership) (12-8)  
① - NY 100-80638

JW:exd (19)  
(57)

1 - Supervisor   #19

*K*  
SAC  
DIV. 1  
DIV. 2  
DIV. 3  
DIV. 4  
SEC. 1  
SEC. 2  
SEC. 3  
SEC. 4  
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SEC. 11  
SEC. 12  
SEC. 13  
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SEC. 15  
SEC. 16  
SEC. 17  
SEC. 18  
SEC. 19  
SEC. 20

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100-80638-1145

NY 100-80638

<u>District</u>	<u>Last registration</u>	<u>Delegates</u>
New England	429	12
Eastern Pennsylvania	523	15
Western Pennsylvania	160	6
Michigan	400	12
Ohio	600	18
Illinois	1000	26
Minnesota	284	9
Oregon	110	3
Washington	328	9
New Jersey	766	22
Connecticut	246	6
Wisconsin	145	3
Rocky Mountains	180	6
Missouri	59	2
Indiana -	83	3
Maryland -		
District of Columbia	220	6
Virginia	22	2
Florida	48	2
North Carolina	35	2
Tennessee	16	2
Alabama	84	3
Louisiana	57	2
Texas	37	2
California	2894	64
	17726	419

A notation raised a question as to whether the Indiana membership was a part of the Illinois figure.

Another notation indicated that the computation of the NY delegate strength was computed on the basis of 8800 members rather than 9000. Another computation of the percentage of delegates from NY was made, resulting in a finding of 43%.

A Photostat of the notes is furnished the Bureau as an enclosure.

KELLY



[illegible]

		1947	1948
FLG.	48	1	2
M.R.	35	1	2
TECH	16	1	2
ALA	84	1	2
STH	5	1	2
GR	37	1	2
	89		12
	1722	82	98

## Previous Conventions

1948 - DIST'S WITH 4000, 450 & UNDER-  
ENTITLED TO 2 DELEGATES  
BEYOND THAT, 1 DEL FOR EACH 250

1940 - 1 DEC FOR EACH 200 -

12/17/56

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-82941)

CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

CIVIL

On 12/16/56 made available to SA JOHN E. HANING for photostating on 12/16/56, an 11-page document dated 12/11/56. This document reflects that it is a statement of the position of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party with regard to the Draft Resolution. This statement reflects that it was adopted with the vote of 25 in favor and 6 against. This vote was taken at a meeting of the State Committee held on 12/3/56. One photostat of this item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau and to the Chicago Office.

This document admits that the Communist Party is in a serious crisis, that it is isolated from the labor movement and that it has committed left-sectarian mistakes. It advocates "the independence of Parties that apply Marxism-Leninism to their own countries"; the abolition of the concepts of democratic centralism and monolithic unity; the seeking of joint activity with other socialist trends in the nation; a new broader party of socialism or a "united party of socialism"; a change in the name of the Communist Party and the transformation of the Party into a non-Party political action association.

On 12/16/56 orally advised that he had learned on 12/15/56 from [redacted] Chairman of the Cultural Section of the New

b6  
b7C

- 3 - BUREAU (100-3-69) (Enc.-1) (REGULAR MAIL, RM)
- 2 - CHICAGO (Enc.-1) (AIR MAIL, RM)
  - (1 - A) 134-45
  - (1 - 100-18953 (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION))
- 1 - NY 100-80830 (CPUSA-MEMBERSHIP) (12)
- 1 - NY 100-80833 (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION) (2) (12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-457 [redacted] (12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-52959 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-80841 (12)

JEL:HD  
(12)

100-80833-12

PAGE TWO

York CP District, that while this statement represents the opinion of the majority of the New York District Committee and the District Board it does not, in the opinion of [redacted] represent the opinion of the majority of the membership in the New York District. [redacted] stated that the minority statement, referred to in this document, was prepared by [redacted] and that it represented the viewpoint of the FOSTER-DENNIS forces but that it was so poorly written that it is being rewritten by WILLIAM WEINSTONE.

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b7C

[redacted] also stated that he believes that the FOSTER-DENNIS forces in the New York CP District will be united for both the New York District and National Conventions. [redacted] also stated that he believes that a number of persons will quit the Communist Party after the National Convention since they will be dissatisfied if either the FOSTER-DENNIS or the GATES forces take control of the Party.

PAGE THREE

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC [REDACTED]

FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON

SUBJECT : INFORMATION FURNISHED BY  
POTENTIAL SECURITY INFORMANT

DATE: 12/27/56

The documentation for this information is as follows:

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Furn.	Agent	Location
[REDACTED]	12/14,15,16/56	12/19/56	ROBERT C. NORTON (Written)	[REDACTED]

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b7C  
b7D

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

ccs:

14 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMM.
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- BERTHA McGOWAN
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- [REDACTED]
- 100- FACTIONALISM
- 100- MEMBERSHIP
- 100- DEFECTED CP MEMBERS
- 100- AL LANNON
- 100- WATERFRONT
- 100- FUNDS
- 100- ORGANIZATION

8 - Baltimore

- 100-20095 [REDACTED]
- 100-20005 SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMM.
- 100-12206 [REDACTED]
- 100-10995 [REDACTED]
- 100-2429 PHIL FRANKFELD
- 100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
- 100-8488 AL LANNON

RCN

RCN:cm  
(22)

100-80638-1150

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
DEC 31 1956  
FBI - NEW YORK

Waters (Waters) [Signature]

#19

ym



[REDACTED]

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"December 19, 1956

"The writer went to New York City Dec. 14, 15, 16, 1956. He contacted and conversed with several members or former members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

"He was sent a letter and also a notification by [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Brooklyn, N.Y., informing him that the 'The Seamen's Defense Fund' was having a victory dance, celebrating their receiving permission to sail again. [REDACTED] is a former C.P. member.

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"Here is an account of the people he met and what they said.

"He met a [REDACTED] a former seaman and also a member of the C.P. from 1942-1948, when the writer knew him. [REDACTED] is unmarried, not employed, and he intends to return to sea life. He also said that the 'Defense Fund' is going to take further action to remove writing from their seamen's papers, placed there by the U.S. Coast Guard, which states that their papers had been revoked but was being returned to them. (These are not the exact words, but the approximate meaning.) The writer met a fellow named [REDACTED] who years ago in the 30's or 40's had been expelled from the Communist Party. He was accused of Trotskyite practices (excessively left). He is not sailing now, nor is he connected with the Party now.

"The writer met BERTHA McGOWAN (not certain if correct spelling). He knew her as a very active member of the Party during and after the 2nd World War. She at present is not active in the Party; due to the unstable conditions of the Party. She was greatly affected by the 'Stalin Dictator Exposé,' and she has not been active since after that time. He does not know if she is a member of the 'party' at this time. She is interested in Communist activities.

"The writer met [REDACTED] who was a very active C.P. member of the Seamen's Unit in Baltimore during and after

[REDACTED]

"World War II. He was expelled from the Party, by PHIL FRANKFELD in Balto., about 3 or 4 years ago, for disagreeing with FRANKFELD's methods of doing things. He now has a good position with some kind of printing or advertising concern in New York. He told the writer that the Party had the wrong approach to thinking in the U.S. Example - if a person had a white collar, or good position he was considerably looked down upon. He said he is now enjoying his life better than ever before, and has no intention of joining the Party. He may still read the Worker. He gave me a person to contact in Balto., [REDACTED] to get the Daily Worker. The author will contact her for the paper, and see what develops from there.

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b7D

"The most unusual encounter the author had was with AL LANNON, who was the National leader of the C.P. seamen for many years. He was released from prison a few months ago. He is doing painting now. He said that people don't believe it, but the best thing that occurred to him in many years was the two years he spent in prison. His health has greatly improved, and he seems to be better adjusted. For he said when he came out of prison his wife told him no more of that rat race, he is finished. And he agreed with her. LANNON and I were very close and I asked him what is the situation in the Party now. He replied there is no Party now. Just a few paid functionaries, and they are a bunch of damn fools. I asked him, where were they getting the money to be paid and he said that's what he would like to know.

"He said this is the first time he is working since 1937, other than 'B.S.' party work, and he enjoys this life wonderfully. He said he is now 49 yrs. old, and he is finished with that 'crap'.

"I asked him if he goes to Party meetings and he said occasionally and then only to spit at them and he spat. He said he had a bit of difficulty holding a job because of his former activity, but he was now getting some work as a painter. His wife and son are also working. We are going to write to each other.

"Anyone who had known LANNON's full activity in the past



"and seeing how he has changed to this extent, would give an idea in the writer's opinion how the Party has deteriorated today.

"The writer saw about a dozen former party associates, and to the ones with whom he spoke, none spoke well for the Party, in fact, none of them intend to be connected with the Party in the foreseeable future (and don't forget these people were real active old timers..) I don't recall all these people's names at this time."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance.

For the information of New York, [redacted] may be described as having furnished reliable information in the past.

December 28, 1956

AIRTEL

MINNEAPOLIS (100-1878-V-325)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re New York airtel to the Director dated December 13, 1956, setting forth membership figures for each of the twenty-five Communist Party Districts along with computations apparently designating the number of delegates each District will have for the forthcoming National Convention.

It is suggested that these registration figures represent the 1955 registration as reported to the National Office by the various districts rather than a 1956 figure. Reference is made to the Chicago letter to the Director, captioned as above with copies to New York, dated May 23, 1956, reflecting information written on a slip of paper obtained by CG 5824-S from PHIL BART, National Organization Commission member, Communist Party, USA in May, 1956. This information on the slip of paper dealt with dues and registration and contained the following pertinent information:

" 1955 CLAIMED REGISTRATION

Minnesota	284
Wisconsin	145
Indiana	83
Missouri	59"

These 1955 claimed registration figures agree exactly with the membership figures shown for these four states in referenced New York airtel.

HOWARD

- 3 - Bureau RM
- ① - New York (100-80638) RM
- 1 - Chicago (100-18952) Info (RM)
- 1 - Minneapolis

RUM/cw  
(6)

100-80638-1151

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 31 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*J. Waters*